Acquisition, patronage and display : contextualising the art collections of Longford Castle during the long eighteenth century

Acquisition, Patronage and Display: Contextualising the Art Collections of Longford Castle during the Long Eighteenth Century

Volume 1: Text

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The work presented in this thesis is the candidate's own.

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of the formation of the collections at Longford Castle during the period c.1730 to c.1830 by the Bouverie family (later Earls of Radnor). It draws upon previously untapped archival material relating to this understudied but nationally significant collection of art, to provide a contribution to current scholarship on country houses and the history of collecting.

The thesis considers issues of acquisition, patronage and display, and looks across a range of art forms, including painting, sculpture, decorative arts and furnishings, exploring the degree to which this family's artistic tastes can be understood as conventional or distinctive for the time. By contextualising these acquisitions and commissions in terms of their setting, it is shown that although Longford Castle, an unusually shaped Elizabethan building, was appropriated and adapted for the display of art in line with eighteenth-century ideals, its owners also valued and retained aspects of its distinctive character. In addition, the thesis shows that Longford functioned both as a private home and as a public space where visitors experienced the collections.

An introduction to the Bouverie family is provided, so as to further contextualise their tastes, exploring their Huguenot and mercantile heritage, and ennoblements, artistic networks, and interests during the long eighteenth century. The thesis argues that these interests were characterised by both an independent spirit and a desire to conform to contemporary trends and to articulate a sense of Englishness.

The thesis takes a broad methodological approach, combining studies of architecture, interiors, gardens, furnishings, fine art and social history. It explores the castle and its contents through both archival research and object-based study, providing the first comprehensive study of Longford and its art collections.

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Notes to the Reader

This thesis studies three collectors at Longford Castle: Jacob Bouverie, 1st Viscount Folkestone (1694-1761); William Bouverie, 1st Earl of Radnor (1724-1776); and Jacob Pleydell-Bouverie, 2nd Earl of Radnor (1749-1828). They will be referred to throughout as, respectively, the 1st Viscount Folkestone, and the 1st and 2nd Earls of Radnor, and thereafter as the 1st Viscount and 1st and 2nd Earls. Although the collectors were known at different times by different titles, this strategy is to avoid the complications of identification that might otherwise arise considering the repetition of the Christian name 'Jacob': the eldest sons of the family are alternately named William and Jacob, a tradition which appears to have begun at the start of the eighteenth century.

Moreover, although the family are commonly referred to as the 'Radnors' today, this thesis will refer to them as the 'Bouveries', because, during the period in question, this surname was a common denominator within the family's changing appellation. Their surname began the eighteenth century as 'Des Bouverie', before becoming Anglicised in 1736 to 'Bouverie', and then double-barrelled to 'Pleydell-Bouverie' in 1748 upon a marriage. The Radnor title was only in effect for half of the period under scrutiny.

When quoting from primary sources, eighteenth-century orthography has been retained. Modern dates have been applied. When a work of art has been reattributed in modern times, the new attribution, derived from Christie, Manson & Woods Ltd., *Inventory of Selected Chattels: The Earl of Radnor, Longford Castle*, 3 volumes, 27th October 2010, Vols. I-III, has been footnoted. The titles currently given to works of art may differ from those quoted from primary sources. All works of art are currently at Longford Castle, unless otherwise stated.

Introduction

This thesis will explore acquisition, patronage and display at Longford Castle, Wiltshire, during the long eighteenth century. Longford, an Elizabethan country house built to an unusual triangular design, was purchased in 1717 by Sir Edward des Bouverie (1688-1736), a merchant trader descended from a Huguenot refugee who had fled to England in the late sixteenth century. During the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, his successors built up an art collection of national significance at Longford, but both castle and collection are relatively little known amongst the pantheon of British country houses.

The Bouverie family's social position, public roles, attitudes to their country seat and other properties, and artistic tastes will be investigated in this thesis. It will explore the mechanisms by which the family acquired works of art, and the ways in which the collections were displayed and experienced at Longford. The century c.1730 to c.1830 will be the focus of this thesis, as it was the most productive period for art collecting at Longford. This timeframe covers the tenures of Jacob Bouverie, 1st Viscount Folkestone (1694-1761); William Bouverie, 1st Earl of Radnor (1724-1776); and Jacob Pleydell-Bouverie, 2nd Earl of Radnor (1749-1828).[1]

This thesis will draw upon hitherto unexplored primary material from the family archive to situate Longford and its art collection within the corpus of country house scholarship from which it has previously largely been missing. The present Earl of Radnor recently donated this archive to the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, where it has been catalogued with the help of the National Archives Cataloguing Grant Fund, and made publicly available. Furthermore, most of the art collection remains in situ at the castle and, following a partnership between Longford and the National Gallery established in 2012, it is now accessible to the public for guided tours twenty-eight days per year. Through the National Gallery's links with Longford, and a partnership with Birkbeck, University of London, in the form of the Collaborative Doctoral Award which funded this doctorate, it has been possible to research the castle and archive in tandem, to produce a comprehensive study of

[1] For a timeline of key biographical events, see Appendix A.

Longford and its art collections for the first time. The aim, above all, is to make a substantive contribution to country house scholarship.

This research draws from, and aims to build upon, the useful but limited body of literature that currently exists on Longford Castle. The most significant publication to date on the art collection is the two-volume catalogue produced in 1909 by Helen Matilda Chaplin, Countess of Radnor (1846-1928),[2] with assistance from William Barclay Squire (1855-1927).[3] This book, and the 1927 family memoir, *From a Great-Grandmother's Armchair*,[4] drew upon Helen Matilda's discovery of eighteenth-century account books at Longford, and her own research notes now form part of the archive in their own right. An extract from the catalogue was reproduced in Frank Herrmann's *The English as Collectors: A Documentary Chrestomathy* in 1972.[5]

Longford has been profiled in *Country Life* magazine on a few occasions. In 1931, a series of articles by the architectural historian Christopher Hussey charted the history of the castle and its interiors, with a particular emphasis upon the furniture collection.[6] This was in line with the early twentieth-century trend amongst such publications to provide architectural histories of country houses, spanning a wide chronology.[7] The art historian and country house scholar John Cornforth then wrote an article on 'Longford and the Bouveries' for the magazine in 1968, not actually

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[2] Wife of the 5th Earl of Radnor.

[3] H. M. Radnor and W. Barclay Squire, with a Preface by Jacob, 6th Earl of Radnor, *Catalogue of the Pictures in the Collection of the Earl of Radnor*, 2 Parts, London: privately printed at the Chiswick Press, 1909

[4] H. M. Radnor, *From a Great-Grandmother's Armchair*, London: Marshall Press, 1927

[5] H. M. Radnor, 'A Case of Family Collecting: The Earls of Radnor' in F. Herrmann (ed.) *The English as Collectors: A Documentary Chrestomathy*, London: Chatto and Windus, 1972, pp. 122-124. This was later reprinted as F. Herrmann (ed.) *The English as Collectors: A Documentary Sourcebook*, New Castle, Del. and London: Oak Knoll Press and John Murray, 1999.

[6] C. Hussey, 'Longford Castle – I. Wilts. The Seat of the Earl of Radnor' in *Country Life*, 12th December 1931, Vol. 70, pp. 648-655; C. Hussey, 'For the Connoisseur: Furniture at Longford Castle – I' in *Country Life*, 12th December 1931, Vol. 70, pp. 678-682; C. Hussey, 'Longford Castle – II. Wilts. The Seat of the Earl of Radnor' in *Country Life*, 19th December 1931, Vol. 70, pp. 696-702; C. Hussey, 'Drawing-Room Furniture in Longford Castle' in *Country Life*, 26th December 1931, Vol. 70, pp. 715-718; and C. Hussey, 'Longford Castle – III. Wilts. The Seat of the Earl of Radnor' in *Country Life*, 26th December 1931, Vol. 70, pp. 724-730. An article on the Longford gardens had also appeared in *Country Life* in 1898 (Anonymous, 'Country Homes and Gardens Old & New: Longford Castle, Wiltshire, the Seat of the Earl of Radnor' in *Country Life*, Vol. 4, No. 84, 13th August 1898, pp. 176-179).

[7] On this historiography, see P. Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997, pp. 287-289.

published.[8] This piece charted the alterations made by the family to the castle during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and briefly introduced some key art acquisitions. Cornforth described in a letter his struggle "to get 250 years into 2500 words".[9] Although scholars such as Cornforth enjoyed privileged access at this time to the house and family papers, then housed in the Muniment Room, these were not available for wider or more detailed study, and Longford was still not widely known.

In more recent years, two publications have offered further, if again brief, insights into the history of the family and art collection. In 2001, Jacob Pleydell-Bouverie, 8th Earl of Radnor (1927-2008) published a family memoir, entitled *A Huguenot Family*,[10] the research notes for which are now in the archive.[11] In 2012, Sir Nicholas Penny, then Director of the National Gallery, wrote a short guidebook to the castle, which contained additional material supplied by Susanna Avery-Quash, and which was intended to accompany the guided tours of Longford organised by the two institutions.[12] This souvenir guidebook provides an introduction to the castle, family, art collection, and the historic links between Longford and the National Gallery, such as the purchase of certain paintings by the latter institution in 1890 and 1945.

The castle is notably absent from many modern books on country houses and the history of collections. This is no doubt because opportunities to study the house and its archive have previously been so limited, and the aforementioned publications are not widely known, nor easily accessible. They are available only in select locations such as the British Library, or on the guided tours. The research for this thesis was thus conducted at a time when a distinct need had been identified for an up-to-date and comprehensive, scholarly study of Longford, its architecture, interiors, surroundings, and art collection.

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[8] J. Cornforth, 'Longford and the Bouveries' in *Country Life Annual*, 1968, pp. 28-37. This was not, however, published, due to insurance reasons (pers. comm. Lord Radnor to the author, 25th April 2016).
[9] Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre (hereafter WSHC) 1946/3/2C/12 Article on history of Longford Castle [including letter by John Cornforth] 1967-1968
[10] J. Radnor, *A Huguenot Family: Des Bouverie, Bouverie, Pleydell-Bouverie*, Winchester: Foxbury Press, 2001
[11] WSHC 1946/4/2A/6 Family History by Nancy Steele, [16th century-c.2000]
[12] N. Penny with the assistance of S. Avery-Quash, *A Guide to Longford Castle*, 2012

This thesis will be concerned with the three key lines of enquiry identified in the title: acquisition, patronage, and display. These areas will be explored from the perspective of the Bouverie family's heritage and ascending social position; within the architectural and decorative contexts of the building; in terms of the geographical and regional location of the castle; and within broader eighteenth-century social, cultural and artistic contexts.

Research Questions and Historiography

Acquisition

The wealth of old master paintings at Longford, by artists such as Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641), David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690), and Claude Lorrain (1600-1682), and the existence of contemporary account books detailing when and how they were purchased, and for what price, invites close study of the Bouverie family's art collecting practices. What types of art did the family acquire, and what can be extrapolated about their tastes from these acquisitions? This thesis will investigate the degree to which these choices conformed to what has been understood as 'conventional' taste for the period.

The body of scholarship on the history of collecting established in the 1970s and 1980s continues apace today.[13] The collecting practices of the Bouverie family will be contextualised within wider trends identified by scholars, particularly those explored by Harry Mount and Craig Ashley Hanson. Their work has begun to overturn the commonly held assumption that the eighteenth century saw a clear-cut transition towards a connoisseurship predicated upon the perceived supremacy of the French

[13] See Herrmann (ed.) *English as Collectors*; F. Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art: Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France*, Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1976, second edition 1980; G. Jackson-Stops (ed.) *The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting*, Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985; I. Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England 1680-1768*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988; J. Stourton and C. Sebag-Montefiore, *The British as Art Collectors: From the Tudors to the Present*, London: Scala, 2012; and the National Gallery Research Strand 'Buying, Collecting and Display' (see https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/research/buying-collecting-and-display/about-buying-collecting-and-display [accessed 26th April 2016]), of which this thesis is a part.

and Italian schools, and a disregard for the northern European schools: they have instead argued for the continued importance of virtuosic attitudes to art collecting.[14] Did the Bouverie family engage with wider tastes for certain schools of art, follow their own path, or value art for reasons other than its connoisseurial significance, such as, for example, its decorative potential, 'curiosity' value, or the associations arising from provenance?

This thesis will also raise the question of the family's motivations for collecting this art. Although insights into the thought processes behind their acquisitions can be hard to glean from the quantitative nature of the account books, study of the range, type, cost, and provenance of works of art bought can reveal a desire to present owners in a particular manner, and to communicate their wealth, status and sense of identity. This thesis will consider the extent to which the Bouveries' collecting practices and tastes can be linked with their ascending social position during this period.

The eighteenth century was a time of pronounced social change, an expansion of wealth underpinning an increase in activity and participation in the art market. Literature on consumption and luxury[15] has revealed the extent to which the acquisition of goods, made available to a wider section of society, was fraught with issues around suitable and decorous consumption in line with one's social position. How did the Bouverie family negotiate the fine line between ostentation and consumption suitable to their station, particularly given their mercantile background and their recent elevation to titled status? This research will show that the family perceived their collection of art to be an important counterpart to their newly acquired country seat, and its role a hereditary one, to be passed down to subsequent generations.

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[14] H. Mount, 'The Reception of Dutch Genre Painting in England 1695-1829', unpublished PhD thesis, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 1991 and C. A. Hanson, *The English Virtuoso: Art, Medicine, and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009

[15] See J. Brewer and R. Porter (eds.) *Consumption and the World of Goods*, London and New York: Routledge, 1993; J. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997; C. Saumarez Smith, *Eighteenth-Century Decoration: Design and the Domestic Interior in England*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1993; M. Berg (ed.) *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003; and M. Berg and H. Clifford (eds.) *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650-1850*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1999.

The family's methods of acquisition on the secondary market, using agents and dealers, attending auctions, and acquiring paintings from abroad, will also be explored. Much scholarship in this area has focused on the importance of the Grand Tour as a mechanism for acquiring works of art.[16] However, the Bouveries amassed their art collection using alternative means. Focused studies on individual art dealers such as Arthur Pond (c.1705-1758), John Smith (1781-1855) and William Buchanan (1777-1864)[17] have shown the role of agents in furnishing art collectors with paintings commensurate with their taste. To what degree did the family draw upon the expertise of such dealers, particularly at different stages within their collecting careers? The different circumstances in which each collector operated at various moments in the century will be borne in mind, taking into account their individual inheritances and their developing social positions.

Patronage

The Bouverie family's participation in the contemporary art world, and their patronage of living artists, including portrait painters and sculptors, will be explored within this thesis, and the relationship between their acquisition of old master paintings on the secondary market, and their commissioning of contemporary works of art will be investigated. The existence of a number of family portraits at Longford in oil and marble, by eminent artists such as Thomas Hudson (1701-1779), John Michael Rysbrack (1694-1770), Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788), Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792), and Richard Cosway (1742-1821) suggests the family's desire to document each generation, commemorating their family tree, and employing the

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[16] See C. Sicca and A. Yarrington (eds.) *The Lustrous Trade: Material Culture and the History of Sculpture in England and Italy, c.1700-c.1860*, London and New York: Leicester University Press, 2000; I. Bignamini and C. Hornsby, with additional research by I. Della Giovampaola and J. Yarker, *Digging and Dealing in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010; and M. D. Sánchez-Jáuregui and S. Wilcox (eds.) *The English Prize: The Capture of the Westmorland, An Episode of the Grand Tour*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012.

[17] See L. Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London: The Rise of Arthur Pond*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1983; C. Sebag-Montefiore with J. I. Armstrong-Totten, *A Dynasty of Dealers: John Smith and his Successors, 1801-1924: A Study of the Art Market of Nineteenth-Century London*, London: Roxburghe Club, distributed by Maggs Bros., 2013; and H. Brigstocke, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade: 100 Letters to His Agents in London and Italy*, London: published privately for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1982.

most fashionable artists of the day for the purpose. How was the creation of this portrait collection tied to the family's ascending social position, and what can we learn about how the family wished to present themselves from the style and iconography of the portraits they commissioned?

Research on patronage is often included in catalogue raisonées, or studies of individual artists and aspects of their career trajectory, such as Susan Sloman's *Gainsborough in Bath*, or Mark Hallett's recent *Reynolds: Portraiture in Action*.[18] Other literature focuses on specific areas of patronage, such as portrait miniatures, child portraiture, or sculpture.[19] This thesis will explore issues of patronage by taking as its starting point the patrons and the intended setting for the commissioned works of art, following the approach profitably deployed in previous studies of individual country houses, such as Houghton Hall, Norfolk, or individual collectors, such as William 'Alderman' Beckford (1709-1770).[20] The Bouveries' patronage will be discussed in light of the family's changing social status, their networks in the art world (particularly their involvement in the foundation of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce), and in the context of wider patronage trends.

Display and Context

The issue of the arrangement of works of art within the context of the country house was explored by John Cornforth and John Fowler in a dedicated chapter in their 1974 book *English Decoration in the 18th Century*, and by Francis Russell in 'The

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[18] S. Sloman, *Gainsborough in Bath*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2002 and M. Hallett, *Reynolds: Portraiture in Action*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014

[19] Such as, for example, J. C. Steward, *The New Child: British Art and the Origins of Modern Childhood, 1730-1830*, Berkeley, California: University Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive, University of California in association with the University of Washington Press, 1995; M. Baker, *Figured in Marble: The Making and Viewing of Eighteenth-Century Sculpture*, London: V&A Publications, 2000; and M. Baker, *The Marble Index: Roubiliac and Sculptural Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2014.

[20] See T. Morel (ed.) *Houghton Revisited*, first published on the occasion of the exhibition 'Houghton Revisited: The Walpole Masterpieces from Catherine the Great's Hermitage', London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2013 and D. E. Ostergard (ed.) *William Beckford, 1760-1844: An Eye for the Magnificent*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Bard Graduate Centre for Studies in the Decorative Arts, Design and Culture, 2001.

Hanging and Display of Pictures, 1700-1850', published in 1989 in *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House*.[21] Recently, the arrangement of portraits within the country house was the focus of a study edited by Gill Perry, Kate Retford and Jordan Vibert, entitled *Placing Faces: The Portrait and the Country House in the Long Eighteenth Century*.[22] These works, among others, have demonstrated the importance of analysing the physical and spatial contexts in which works of art were hung, suggesting a number of 'conventions' for the arrangement of pictures in the eighteenth-century country house. This thesis will build on this work, exploring the manner in which paintings and sculpture, both old and new, were displayed at Longford during the period, and the extent to which these strategies conformed to these trends – or otherwise.

The unusual design and layout of Longford Castle makes a study of this topic particularly important, and this thesis will investigate whether the family appropriated and adapted the rooms at Longford in an attempt to conform to 'typical' eighteenth-century country house hangs. What, if any, architectural amendments were undertaken to 'improve' Longford in line with contemporary ideals? This thesis will also discuss what was *not* done, to help ascertain the family's attitudes to the castle. The refurbishment of key rooms will be analysed, focusing on the role of interior redecoration in setting Longford up as a repository for works of art. The decorative arts, such as silverware, porcelain, and furniture, which provided the decorative setting for the collection of fine art, will also be explored.

This thesis will therefore assess the ways in which the family perceived and valued Longford, both as home to an art collection, and as a family seat, particularly in relation to other properties which came into their ownership during this period via marriages. These included a secondary country house, Coleshill in Berkshire, and a London town house, 52 Grosvenor Street. A wealth of scholarship on the relationship between town and country in the eighteenth century has revealed the

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[21] J. Cornforth and J. Fowler, *English Decoration in the 18th Century*, London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1974 and F. Russell, 'The Hanging and Display of Pictures, 1700-1850' in G. Jackson-Stops, *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House*, Washington DC: National Gallery of Art, 1989, pp. 133-153

[22] G. Perry, K. Retford and J. Vibert (eds.) *Placing Faces: The Portrait and the English Country House in the Long Eighteenth Century*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013

complexity of contemporary attitudes to metropolitan, suburban and rural houses.[23] The repercussions of this for the display of works of art are still a matter for debate, as a panel discussion at the conference *Animating the Georgian London Town House*, in March 2016, revealed.[24]

Joseph Friedman, in his study of Spencer House, London,[25] suggested that families kept their most important works of art in London, indicating the town house's supremacy over the country house. Susannah Brooke's recent PhD thesis on 'Private Art Collections and London Town Houses, 1730-1830',[26] meanwhile, highlighted the many different types of town house that existed during this period, each of which had a different relationship to the family's picture collection. Attitudes towards town and country were therefore complex, and varied according to different families. A study of the Bouveries' perception of Longford, vis-à-vis their other properties, will contribute to this debate.

In addition to scholarship that has stressed the importance of considering the various residences used by aristocratic families, the body of literature on country house gardens and parkland[27] reminds one of the need to consider these establishments as part of wider estates. This thesis will contextualise Longford within its immediate surroundings, and explore the treatment of its grounds during the period in question.

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[23] See M. H. Port, 'West End Palaces: The Aristocratic Town House in London, 1730-1830' in *The London Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 1, May 1995, pp. 17-46; G. Waterfield, 'The Town House as Gallery of Art' in *The London Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 1995, pp. 47-66; M. H. Port, 'Town House and Country House: their Interaction' in D. Arnold (ed.) *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society*, Stroud: Sutton, 1998, pp. 117-138; R. Stewart, *The Town House in Georgian London*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009; and E. McKellar, *Landscapes of London: The City, the Country and the Suburbs 1660-1840*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2013.

[24] G. Waterfield, J. Friedman and S. Brooke, 'Collecting and Display' panel discussion at *Animating the Georgian London Town House*, second day of two-day conference organised by the National Gallery, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art and Birkbeck, University of London, 18th March 2016, held at the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art.

[25] J. Friedman, *Spencer House: Chronicle of a Great London Mansion*, London: Zwemmer, 1993

[26] S. Brooke, 'Private Art Collections and London Town Houses, 1780-1830', unpublished PhD thesis, Queens' College, Cambridge, 2013

[27] See S. Pugh (ed.) *Reading Landscape: Country-City-Capital*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990; T. Williamson, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth-Century England*, Stroud: Sutton, 1995; S. Bending, 'One Among the Many: Popular Aesthetics, Polite Culture and the Country House Landscape' in Arnold (ed.) *Georgian Country House*, pp. 61-78; and S. Bending, *Green Retreats: Women, Gardens and Eighteenth-Century Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Experience

The eighteenth century saw the emergence of a culture of country house visiting. This was in part due to the creation of a better national transportation network,[28] but also the aristocratic imperative to open up private collections of art,[29] both for the genteel classes and for artists wishing to study paintings and sculpture, before the establishment in Britain of public art museums.[30] Studies have shown the degree to which houses, their grounds and their art collections functioned to communicate ideas about the owners' taste, wealth and status to a body of visitors.[31] The study of contemporary tourists' accounts will enable an understanding of how Longford was experienced and perceived during the period under review, showing, for example, how it was visited as part of a regional tour, and considering which were the works of art that were particularly commented on by tourists.

In her recent PhD thesis, Jocelyn Anderson argued that country houses were sites that required 'remaking' in order that tourists could interpret them, particularly through the form of the guidebook.[32] Given that no catalogue was produced for the Longford collection until the mid-nineteenth century,[33] this thesis will ask whether and, if so, how Longford was 'remade' or framed for public view in the eighteenth century - through published engravings or accounts in written publications, for example. It will consider the degree to which tourists were anticipated or welcomed, and how the family negotiated the public and private roles of their country seat.

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[28] M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978, pp. 190, 218

[29] G. Waterfield, 'The Public Role of Country House Collections' in K. Hearn, R. Upstone and G. Waterfield, *In Celebration: The Art of the Country House*, London: Tate Gallery, 1998, p. 13

[30] C. Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000, p. 184

[31] See E. Moir, 'Touring Country Houses in the 18th Century' in *Country Life*, 22nd October 1959, Vol. 126, pp. 586-588; E. Moir, 'Georgian Visits to Landscape Gardens' in *Country Life*, 7th January 1960, Vol. 127, pp. 6-8; E. Moir, *The Discovery of Britain: The English Tourists 1540-1840*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964; A. Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting: Five Centuries of Tourism and Taste*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell in association with the National Trust, 1989; I. Ousby, *The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990; D. Arnold, 'The Country House and its Publics' in Arnold (ed.) *Georgian Country House*, pp. 20-42; and T. Clayton, 'Publishing Houses: Prints of Country Seats' in Arnold (ed.) *Georgian Country House*, pp. 43-60.

[32] J. Anderson, 'Remaking the Country House: Country House Guidebooks in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', unpublished PhD thesis, The Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2013

[33] WSHC 1946/3/2A/5 Catalogues of paintings at Longford Castle 1849-1853

Methodology and Source Material

In addressing a range of themes, this thesis is concerned with a variety of object types, including fine furnishings; decorative arts including porcelain and silverware; paintings from different genres, periods and schools; and sculpture, and also considers gardens and exterior and interior architecture. Studies of the country house have often been divided into separate histories, with discrete bodies of scholarship focusing respectively on architecture, gardens, the decorative arts, interior design, and the fine arts.[34] This thesis instead looks across these boundaries, to create an integrated account of Longford and its art collection.

In the early- to mid-twentieth century, the study of the country house was characterised by a biographical approach, focusing upon the lives and careers of individual architects and owners, as can be seen in Hussey's articles for *Country Life*, John Summerson's *Architecture in Britain 1530 to 1830*, and Nikolaus Pevsner's series *Buildings of England*.[35] As Elizabeth McKellar has noted, this approach isolated architectural form, disregarding "decoration, interiors, or the surrounding landscape", and, through "an analysis of plans and façade", prioritised the exterior view.[36]

Scholarship and exhibitions later in the twentieth century began to take a more contextual approach based upon social history. Mark Girouard's 1978 book *Life in the English Country House* has been credited with "[rescuing the country house's] past from the hands of the architectural technicians who wrote detailed accounts of every

[34] For example, the decorative arts have previously been addressed within a discrete body of literature. See Cornforth and Fowler, *English Decoration in the 18th Century*; J. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004; and Saumarez Smith, *Eighteenth-Century Decoration.*

[35] See C. Hussey, *English Country Houses: Early Georgian 1715-1760*, London: Antique Collectors' Club, first published by Country Life Ltd, 1955, 1988; J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530 to 1830*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, first published 1953 by Penguin Books Ltd, ninth edition published by Yale University Press, 1993; and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England 26: Wiltshire*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963.

[36] E. McKellar, 'Populism versus Professionalism: John Summerson and the Twentieth-Century Creation of the "Georgian"' in B. Arciszewska and E. McKellar (eds.) *Articulating British Classicism: New Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Architecture*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004, p. 48

finial, every Doric column, and every Adam fireplace, to turn it into a serious subject of social history",[37] and other publications, including *The English Country House: A Grand Tour* by Gervase Jackson-Stops and James Pipkin,[38] and Dana Arnold's *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society*, sought to move beyond the restraints of biographical or stylistic approaches. For example, Arnold saw the country house as a microcosm of wider society.[39] Studies of the country house undertaken from an economic perspective continued this trend, such as Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley's *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House 1660-1880* in 2000.[40] This publication also typified a move away from a sole focus within the scholarship on the grandest and most innovative of buildings, to take into account a wider range of examples.[41]

This approach was matched by an interest in the settings for which works of art were acquired. Writing of the 1985 exhibition *Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting* at the National Gallery of Art, Washington D. C., Jackson-Stops, the show's curator, observed that "it was essential to show how these works of art were made or collected for specific settings",[42] and a belief in the importance of seeing works of art in the architectural and decorative surroundings of the country house continues today, as was shown by the success of the 2013 exhibition *Houghton Revisited*, which reunited the house and its eighteenth-century picture collection.

Today, scholarship is taking a broader and more inclusive approach to houses, their surroundings, and contents. For example, Anderson's use of the term 'composite country house' exemplifies an understanding of these places as spaces encompassing

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[37] J. V. Beckett, 'Country House Life' in *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 45, No. 1, March 2002, p. 235. This move in methodology followed the adoption of a social history of art in other areas, occurring five years after T. J. Clark wrote 'On the Social History of Art' (T. J. Clark, 'On the Social History of Art' in T. J. Clark, *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1973, pp. 9-20) and after Michael Baxandall wrote "a fifteenth-century painting is a deposit of a social relationship" (M. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972, p. 1).

[38] G. Jackson-Stops and J. Pipkin, *The English Country House: A Grand Tour*, Boston: Little, Brown and Company; Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1985

[39] D. Arnold, 'The Country House: Form, Function and Meaning' in Arnold (ed.) *Georgian Country House*, pp. 1, 10, 16

[40] R. Wilson and A. Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House 1660-1880*, London and New York: Hambledon and London, 2000

[41] This approach was also taken in Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*.

[42] G. Jackson-Stops, 'Introduction' in Jackson-Stops and Pipkin, *English Country House*, p. 8

a wide range of media and forms.[43] The 2015 conference, *Animating the Eighteenth-Century Country House*, organised as an outcome of this Collaborative Doctoral Award, brought together historians of art, architecture, gardens and social history, and encouraged them to think about country houses as evolving environments, wherein constant dialogue took place between different kinds of objects and their surroundings.[44] Similarly, Stephen Hague's recent study of gentlemanly status brought together these disparate areas of scholarship, within a British Atlantic context, to explore the issue of social mobility.[45]

This thesis has this holistic methodological approach at its heart. The fact that the art collection established in the eighteenth century still largely remains in situ at Longford Castle, in interiors that have retained much of their eighteenth-century appearance,[46] enables a consideration of the artistic contents as part of a whole, within the material and spatial context of the castle. This object-based scholarship is combined with a study of the previously untapped family archive, alongside other primary material such as the Coleshill papers housed at the Berkshire Record Office, and documents at the archives of the Royal Society of Arts and the Huguenot Society.

Some of the most important sources for this research are the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century account books of the Bouverie family. They detail the personal expenditure of the 1st Viscount and the 1st and 2nd Earls, comprising art-related purchases, travelling expenses, expenditure in relation to philanthropic and political activities, and household expenditure.[47] These personal account books are distinct in form and content from rentals, also held in the archive, which itemise the finances of

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[43] Anderson, 'Remaking the Country House', pp. 50-53

[44] Co-organised by the National Gallery, the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art and Birkbeck, University of London (see 'Animating the 18th-Century Country House', https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/whats-on/calendar/animating-the-18th-century-country-house-5-march-2015-1000 [accessed 28th April 2016]).

[45] S. Hague, *The Gentleman's House in the British Atlantic World 1680-1780*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, pp. 4, 155

[46] Some later alterations to the building's architecture and contents, such as the addition of bay windows to the garden front, the replacement of some green damask replica fabric, and the addition and removal of certain paintings in the Picture Gallery, have been taken into account in this research.

[47] Payments relating to works of art have been transcribed in Appendix C.

the estate.[48] A great benefit of the accounts is that they show the family's simultaneous expenditure upon the fine and decorative arts, old masters and contemporary commissions, interior decoration, architectural consultations and work upon the gardens. They demonstrate how the Bouveries themselves did not consider any of these areas in isolation.

Contemporary inventories of the art collection at Longford have also been instrumental in this research. Although they concentrate mostly on works of fine art, these inventories give an insight into the spatial dynamics of the art collection at Longford, whilst the methods of description indicate how works of art were valued and perceived. As has been noted of Tessa Murdoch's publication, *Noble Households: Eighteenth-Century Inventories of Great English Houses*, which detailed the contents of a number of town and country houses, inventories are valuable for scholars as they enable change to be charted over time.[49] This thesis will utilise different inventories to explore how arrangements of art at Longford were altered or, indeed, stayed the same. However, inventories can also be problematic sources as, for instance, crossings-out, layers of rewriting, and repetition, to be found in the Longford material, make them difficult both to date and interpret. Moreover, as Brooke has noted, it is common for some spaces, such as staircases, to be omitted,[50] with little indication given as to whether this is due to an absence of works of art, or a lack of concern with that space on the part of the compiler of the inventory. Thus, they must be approached with some caution. However, their potential for animating spaces, reviving contemporary experience, and revealing change over time can greatly contribute, alongside other evidence, to the recreation of an integrated picture of the eighteenth-century country house.

This holistic approach recaptures contemporary attitudes to the country house embedded in the practices of eighteenth-century interior designers and architects such as William Kent (c.1685-1748) and Robert Adam (1728-1792). Kent's concerns

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[48] See for example WSHC 1946/2/1C/22 Rental accounts … 1777-1778. On the forms of aristocratic estate management bookkeeping, see C. J. Napier, 'Aristocratic Accounting: The Bute Estate in Glamorgan 1814-1880' in *Accounting and Business Research*, Spring 1991, Vol. 21, No. 82, pp. 164-165.
[49] A. Moore, 'Noble Households: Eighteenth-Century Inventories of Great English Houses. A Tribute to John Cornforth by Tessa Murdoch: Review' in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 149, No. 1251, Decorative Arts and Sculpture, June 2007, p. 418
[50] Brooke, 'Private Art Collections and London Town Houses', p. 30

at Houghton Hall, for example, extended further than the building's architecture and interior decoration, to also encompass its collection of furnishings and fine art.[51] Surviving drawings demonstrate how rooms at Houghton were conceived as a whole, greater than the sum of their parts, the overall effect a combined result of painted ceilings, mirrors, picture frames, and items of furniture.[52] Similarly, Adam created "highly unified decorative schemes" that "embraced everything from ceilings to barometers to door catches" later in the century.[53] Moreover, the fact that many eighteenth-century country house owners considered their houses and gardens as part of an overall entity, rather than discrete spaces,[54] provides further impetus to consider the connections between interior and exterior, and to overturn the prevailing detachment between studies of architecture and gardens.

In order to present the research clearly and effectively, this thesis has been divided into chapters on Longford Castle's architecture, interior decoration and furnishings, and fine art collection. However, each chapter is intended to build cumulatively upon its predecessors, to create a comprehensive account, showing how all these elements contributed to the whole. In line with this ambition, the thesis will begin by taking a wide view, exploring Longford and its architectural profile within a national context and vis-à-vis other town and country properties including those owned by the Bouverie family, before 'zooming in', first to its immediate setting and grounds, then to its interiors, and finally to its individual contents and works of art.

Chapter Structure

The thesis is divided into three parts: the first on Longford Castle; the second on the art collection; the third on display and experience. Chapter 1 stands separately, and will provide an introduction to the Bouverie family and their heritage, and an account of the lives and interests of the three main collectors with whom this thesis is concerned. It will analyse the family's social ascent in terms of eighteenth-century

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[51] T. Morel, 'Houghton Revisited: An Introduction' in Morel (ed.) *Houghton Revisited*, p. 38
[52] Morel, 'Houghton Revisited: An Introduction', p. 38
[53] G. Jackson-Stops with the assistance of F. Russell, 'Augustan Taste' in Jackson-Stops (ed.) *Treasure Houses of Britain*, p. 322
[54] Williamson argues that this was due to the prevailing influence of Italian Renaissance writers' theories (Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, p. 18).

social history. Due to the fact that Longford is less well known than a number of other country houses, a full introduction to its owners is necessary, in order to provide individual and social contexts for the study of collecting that follows.

Part One comprises two chapters. Chapter 2 will introduce Longford, its history and distinctive architectural profile, and the Bouverie family's treatment of the building during the period under discussion, as well as the use and function of the other properties they rented and owned, such as London town houses and Coleshill House. It will also discuss the treatment of the grounds at Longford. Chapter 3 will take the reader inside the castle, exploring key rooms and interiors, and analysing refurbishments with a view to how they functioned as decorative contexts for the art collection. This chapter will also explore decorative works of art at Longford, to help create a broad picture of the interiors, and to demonstrate their importance in communicating messages about the family's identity.

Part Two is also divided into two chapters, dealing with the establishment and continuing improvement of the art collection during the long eighteenth century. Chapter 4 will focus on the purchases made on the secondary market, and what they can reveal about the family's tastes. Chapter 5 will discuss the Bouveries' patronage of contemporary artists, and some key commissions, particularly family portraits in oil and marble.

Finally, Part Three is concerned with the ways in which the art collection was displayed and experienced at Longford. Chapter 6 will discuss the display of works of art within the architectural and decorative surroundings introduced earlier in the thesis, focusing on key rooms and spaces to explore how paintings and sculptures were arranged over time. Having considered how the castle and art collection would have been experienced spatially during the period, the thesis will then go on to discuss the accounts of actual visitors in Chapter 7. This chapter will locate Longford within the tourist culture of the time, and animate the space by bringing in contemporary accounts to determine how visitors experienced and responded to the castle and its contents. In exploring the degree to which Longford was open to tourists, the Bouveries' attitudes towards the castle as both home to an art collection and as a family home will be made clearer.

Chapter 1: The Family

This chapter serves as an introduction to the three main collectors at Longford Castle during the period c.1730-c.1830: the 1st Viscount Folkestone and 1st and 2nd Earls of Radnor (figs. 1, 2, 3). It gives an outline of their adult lives, focusing on their philanthropic and political interests and activities.[1] The Bouveries' history is one which saw a family of descendants of a Huguenot refugee, Laurens des Bouverie (1536-1610) (fig. 4), active in business and overseas trade, become aristocratic landowners, politicians and philanthropists over the course of a century. The family made their fortune in the seventeenth century working for the Levant Company, capitalising upon its most profitable period of trade with Turkey before turning to landownership and residency in England.[2] The family's estate was valued at £122,667 1s. 6d. in 1707, and, by 1713, two members of the family had been knighted.[3]

The last of the family to live and work abroad, Sir Edward Des Bouverie (fig. 5), was granted a licence by Queen Anne (1665-1714) to return through France to England in 1713,[4] where he joined the community of merchants in the City of London. From 1680 onwards, the Bouveries began to invest in property for income,[5] and in 1717, Sir Edward purchased Longford Castle, Wiltshire. The family continued to acquire land throughout the following century, through purchase, lease and inheritance, often for farming, and predominantly in the southwest of England.[6]

Charting this rise to aristocratic and landowning prominence is important in delineating the family's sense of identity and their position within society, an understanding of which is central to an explanation of their artistic patronage throughout the long eighteenth century. This chapter evaluates the family's history in terms of issues of social status. It proposes that the Bouveries demonstrated great commitment to their assimilation into the English aristocracy, but did not forget their immigrant background, instead combining their own history into an existing

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1 For key biographical information, see Appendix A.
2 See J. Radnor, *A Huguenot Family*, Winchester: Foxbury Press, 2001, pp. 29-32, and A. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, London: Frank Cass & Co Ltd, 1964, chapters 6, 8, 9.
3 Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre (hereafter WSHC) 1946/4/2A/6 Family History by Nancy Steele [16th century-c.2000]
4 WSHC 1946/4/1H/2 Passport & portfeuille 1700-1713
5 WSHC 1946/4/2A/6
6 WSHC 1946/4/2A/6

corpus of aristocratic traditions. Their fluid attitudes to the past, to politics and to contemporary fashions, and the resultant complexities of identity ensured that the family were not tied down, but were instead sufficiently flexible in their outlook to secure their status. Arguably, what characterises this family's rise, and explains much of their patronage, is an overall desire for security – in their history and identity, in their contemporary social position, and with an eye to posterity.

Any conjectures or conclusions about the family's social ascent, however, must take account of three important issues. First, it must be remembered that the 1st Viscount and 1st and 2nd Earls were individuals living within discrete cultural conditions, and each worked with different legacies. The different milieux – personal and social – within which each engaged in patronage, philanthropy and politics necessarily affected the types and extents of their activities in each sphere of influence. Second, in asking questions about identity construction and change, one must consider the extent to which this would have been a conscious process, deliberately and strategically planned from the outset, or a more instinctual one.

Finally, it is worth considering how far the family's eighteenth-century trajectory should be deemed one of 'assimilation' into the English aristocracy. It is tempting to see the Bouveries' rise to prominence as one that entailed the suppression of their own non-aristocratic background in favour of an adoption of the traditions of the English landed classes. However, it is also notable that, to an extent, the family's origins placed them in a strong position from which to gain social prominence in the ever-changing social arena of eighteenth-century Britain. That established landed families themselves had to adapt to the country's new commercial character demonstrates that 'assimilation' was a two-way process.[7] Therefore, the challenge to the Bouverie family to ascend the social ladder was perhaps less marked than might otherwise be presumed.

[7] M. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780*, Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1996, p. 213

Jacob Bouverie, 1st Viscount Folkestone (1694-1761)

The 1st Viscount was the family's first important patron and collector of art, the first to permanently reside in England, and the first to engage significantly with an aristocratic lifestyle. His actions put him at the forefront of new developments in society and the arts, but also demonstrate both a subscription to some of the aristocratic traditions of the past, and a desire to celebrate his family's own unique origins.

During the 1720s, the 1st Viscount travelled to continental Europe, visiting northern France and the Netherlands, from where the Bouverie family originated. A letter written in Angers from the 1st Viscount to his brother, Sir Edward, reads:

> You wrote me yt the place where I am to make some enquiry about our Family, lays between Cambray & Lisle … There are some People here in this Town of our name, but of no Considerable note: about two hundred years agoe one of our name here married ye. daughter of a Lawyer … I have seen his arms in ye Cathedrall=Church, wch are not at all like ours[8]

Although it also indicates some practical concerns with the visit on the part of the 1st Viscount, this letter demonstrates the family's keenness to trace their Huguenot origins. Their forebear, Laurens, had been born near Cambrai and Lille, in the small town of St Jean du Melantois.[9]

It must be remembered that the Huguenot community was successful, esteemed, and well established in England at this time, and therefore it is unlikely that the 1st Viscount would have wished to actively dissociate himself from it. Nonetheless, once he had inherited Longford Castle, Huguenotism became an aspect of his identity that, whilst not suppressed, was emphasised to a lesser degree. The 1st Viscount was responsible for the Anglicisation of the family name by Act of Parliament in 1736,

[8] WSHC 1946/4/2B/1 Volume of family history documents 1623-1834
[9] Radnor, *Huguenot Family*, p. 11. This tour of Flanders and Holland may also have been a formative influence on Jacob's and his successors' later taste for Dutch and Flemish art, to be examined later in this thesis.

such that the surname changed from 'Des Bouverie' to 'Bouverie'.[10] This did not necessarily entail a rejection of the family's Huguenot origins,[11] but rather was a significant public declaration of the 1st Viscount's amenability to English society, at the moment at which he inherited his country seat.

However, the name change may not have been the decision of the 1st Viscount alone: its formalisation may also have been the result of longstanding practical concerns and customs. A nineteenth-century copy of the Act of Parliament for the name change reveals that three deceased members of the family "for several years before their respective deaths did write themselves by the Sirname of Bouverie and not Des Bouverie",[12] which suggests that this practice had been taken up informally before the 1st Viscount made the change official. Furthermore, the "bill of charges about an Act of Parliament for writing my name Bouverie only" was shared between the 1st Viscount and a relative; "my Cousin, Bouverie being to pay the other half".[13]

The 1st Viscount's role in formalising this transition, however, takes on further currency when considered in light of other changes made under his tenure, such as the move towards landownership. These commitments to 'Englishness' may have been contributory factors in the family's advancement within the ranks of the aristocracy, and the 1st Viscount's ennoblement, as many Huguenot families who continued in trade and business during the eighteenth century did not achieve the same heights of rank that the Bouveries were to attain.[14]

The 1st Viscount also adopted many of the traditional customs of the landed aristocracy, taking an interest in heraldry and fulfilling the historically paternalistic

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[10] Radnor, *Huguenot Family*, p. 39. The preposition 'de' within a surname can indicate French or Norman ancestry (see P. H. Reaney, *A Dictionary of English Surnames*, revised third edition with corrections and additions by R. M. Wilson, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, p. xv), but such prepositions were less commonly used after 1500 apart from in Surrey and Sussex (R. McKinley, *A History of British Surnames*, London: Longman, 1990, p. 88).

[11] Carolyn Lougee Chappell has shown that women "deeply embedded in the Huguenot community" might still voluntarily follow an English naming pattern (see C. L. Chappell, 'What's in a Name?: Self-Identification of Huguenot *Réfugiées* in 18th-Century England' in R. Vigne and C. Littleton (eds.) *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550-1750*, London and Brighton: The Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland and Sussex Academic Press, 2001, pp. 539-548).

[12] WSHC 1946/4/1A/13 Act of Parliament for change of name [1737]

[13] WSHC 1946/3/1B/1 House book [of household and personal expenses of Sir Jacob Bouverie] 1723-1745

[14] For example, the Bosanquet, Lethieullier and Du Cane families.

role of local landowner. Despite a decline throughout the eighteenth century in "county consciousness",[15] with a decrease in gentry attendance at quarter sessions (quarterly meetings of English courts), it has also been argued that English voluntary organisations were key in "the remaking of provincial identities" during the period.[16] For the 1st Viscount and his successors, taking on local responsibilities in the form of philanthropic and political engagement in the community around their Wiltshire seat[17] may have helped to establish popularity[18] and power in the region. As the 1st Viscount held many of these positions – such as MP and Recorder for Salisbury – prior to his ennoblement in 1747, the commitment they demonstrated to the locality may have assisted in the achievement of the Viscounty.

This paternalistic attitude evokes an intrinsically 'Tory' approach to the local community, conforming to the 'Tory view of landscape' expounded by Nigel Everett, wherein landowners subscribed to an outlook "in which wealth was supposed to be accompanied by obligations and rank by duties".[19] This viewpoint was "opposed to a narrowly commercial conception of life",[20] suggesting a binary that had to be reconciled, between landowning traditions and the encroaching commercialism of eighteenth-century society – the Bouveries' identity had thus far been bound up with the latter. By involving himself in his own local community, the 1st Viscount integrated himself within English traditions, evincing a desire to articulate historical continuity that – whether intentionally or otherwise – ultimately had the effect of consolidating his newfound noble status.

As well as reconciling his Huguenot heritage with English traditions, the 1st Viscount also amalgamated his respect for the past with a forward-looking attitude, resulting in a fluidity of allegiances. Arguably, this was important within a society that

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[15] P. Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000, p. 292
[16] Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 456
[17] On their roles and responsibilities, see Appendix A.
[18] Their popularity amongst Wiltshire locals is evinced by how, when the 1st Viscount returned to Longford after a period away, the church bells would be rung in Salisbury and Britford (Radnor, *Huguenot Family*, p. 44) – a gesture that, although likely to have been contrived, was nonetheless an expression of local support. Moreover, in 1799, the Bishop of Salisbury (John Douglas [1721-1807]) wrote to the 2nd Earl to inform him of his popularity amongst stallholders (voters) of the city (WSHC 1946/4/2B/1).
[19] N. Everett, *The Tory View of Landscape*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994, p. 4
[20] Everett, *Tory View of Landscape*, p. 1

"balance[d] dynamic growth and stability."[21] His principal philanthropic commitment, his presidency of the newly-founded Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, demonstrated a pioneering engagement with some of the new prerequisites for noble status in eighteenth-century England: leadership of clubs and societies, and charitable activity on a national scale.[22] The 1st Viscount was closely involved with the establishment of the Society, and has been credited with having "carried [the idea] into execution", having contributed financially to the Society's beginnings.[23]

An important aspect of participation in clubs and societies during the eighteenth century, particularly for "newcomers", was, as the urban historian Peter Clark has argued, the ability to obtain "social recognition in a fluid social scene".[24] Although, by this stage, the 1st Viscount's place in the upper echelons of English society was well established, he may have consolidated his status through his leadership of the Society of Arts and his visible participation within it during the fashionable London season. Merchants, Clark has proposed, were often of less intrinsic importance to such societies, due to their work commitments and other networks.[25] However, the 1st Viscount did not conform to this pattern, instead taking an active role.[26] As President, he attended approximately a third of the Society's meetings throughout its first year.[27] When not present, there is evidence that he kept up with the activities and work of the Society through correspondence, as a letter from Longford, dated 2nd June 1755, attests: "I shall always be glad both to see you & hear from you; especially concerning any thing that regards our Society, to which I am so hearty a

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[21] S. Hague, *The Gentleman's House in the British Atlantic World 1680-1780*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, p. 51

[22] For more on the significance of aristocrats as leaders in societies, see P. Langford, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman 1689-1798*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991, pp. 510, 556-557, 561; for the professionalisation of clubs and their aims of 'improvement', see Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, pp. 60, 85.

[23] See H. Trueman Wood, *A History of the Royal Society of Arts*, London: John Murray, 1913, p. 11; Royal Society of Arts Archive (hereafter RSA) RSA/AD/MA/100/12/01/01 Minutes of the Society 1754-1757; and A. Smith, 'Lord Folkestone and the Society of Arts: Picturing the First President', *William Shipley Group for RSA History Occasional Paper*, No. 29, April 2016, p. 15.

[24] Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 150

[25] Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 152

[26] See Smith, 'Lord Folkestone and the Society of Arts', pp. 16-18.

[27] See RSA/AD/MA/100/12/01/01.

Well-Wisher, as every now & then to wish, I was near enough to be present at your meetings-".[28]

The 1st Viscount also engaged in other philanthropic ventures on a national scale. He bequeathed legacies to various hospitals. For example, he gave one hundred pounds each to the London hospitals of Christ Church, Saint Bartholomew, Hyde Park Corner, and to the Westminster and London Infirmaries, and a further one hundred pounds each to "every Hospital or county Infirmary in England".[29] His descendants continued to make such bequests and to engage with philanthropic societies and local politics. These actions were perhaps undertaken for personal reasons, but also served to locate the family further within the realms of the beneficent, altruistic landed elite, connected to a variety of communities, both local and national.

Security is a recurring theme in the Bouverie family history during the eighteenth century. The way in which the family made their transition to aristocratic status is encapsulated in their financial affairs. One might wonder why they chose to invest in land, rather than prioritising their other trade and business ventures, as many aristocrats were at this time taking advantage of other types of investment alongside land,[30] and it has been argued that land had a low rate of return and was difficult to liquidate.[31] However, it was still valued for being a secure form of investment,[32] quite apart from its being a visible and traditional status symbol.

Aspects of the wills of the three individuals under consideration suggest a conscious effort to ensure the continuity and security of the family seat at Longford, their landholdings, and the family name. Lawrence and Jeanne Stone have discussed the importance of the continuity of 'houses', taken to mean "the patrilinear family line", which was achieved through the security of the family seat, land (and therefore income), heirlooms, and title.[33] Thus, the 1st Viscount decreed in his will that any of

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[28] RSA PR/GE/110/1/22 Letter from Lord Folkestone … 2nd June 1755. This indicates the 1st Viscount's seasonal occupancy of his country estate: a subject to be explored further in Chapter 2.
[29] The National Archives (hereafter TNA) Prob 11/863 Will of … Jacob Lord Viscount Folkestone, Baron of Longford, p. 17
[30] S. Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys 1660-1720*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 74-78
[31] L. Stone and J. Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540-1880*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984, p. 12
[32] Stone and Stone, *Open Elite?*, pp. 11-12
[33] Stone and Stone, *Open Elite?*, p. 72

his descendants inheriting his estates, hereditaments and title, and their heirs in turn, should bear the family surname, Bouverie.[34] If not, the will stated that the inheritor should be considered "as if he or they were actually dead", and that the inheritance should be passed on.[35] The extremity of this sanction indicates how strongly the 1st Viscount felt about the future security of the family name, which, having been Anglicised, acted as a symbolic vehicle incorporating the family's Huguenot heritage with its newer English identity.

Eileen Spring has shown that the eighteenth century saw a heightened interest in names and ancestry.[36] The 1st Viscount was thus thinking concordantly with other testators of the time. For example, the will of Sir Mark Stuart Pleydell (c.1693-1768), to be discussed shortly, also decreed that whoever took possession of his estate should also assume the family name and arms.[37] However, for the recently landed and ennobled Bouverie family, the emphasis placed on the retention of the family name had particular resonance, suggesting a certain anxiety to make their carefully built up legacy secure.

Another way in which the future security of the Bouverie 'house' was enshrined in the incumbents' wills was through the treatment of Longford Castle as both the sole inheritance of the first son – precluding any potential split in the estate – and as a home that ought to be maintained, kept in good repair, and not allowed to enter into neglect or decay. The 1st Viscount willed that a trust be set up to provide an annuity of six hundred pounds for "repairing or adorning my said House and Gardens at Longford".[38] Moreover, he hoped that future heirs would settle the same conditions upon their inheritors.[39] During the eighteenth century, carefully built up legacies of landholdings were not necessarily as secure as the symbolic power of land and the legal mechanics of entailment would suggest, particularly for relatively recently established dynasties. It has been argued that future generations were "prone to eat quickly into their patrimony" as families became more preoccupied with "leisure,

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[34] TNA Prob 11/863, p. 22
[35] TNA Prob 11/863, p. 23
[36] See E. Spring, *Law, Land, & Family: Aristocratic Inheritance in England, 1300 to 1800*, Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994, pp. 94-95.
[37] TNA Prob 11/943 Will of Sir Mark Stuart Pleydell, pp. 4-5
[38] TNA Prob 11/863, p. 18
[39] TNA Prob 11/863, p. 18

cultivation and political power" than with "wealth creation".[40] Due to the potential insecurity he felt for his family's infant dynasty, it is understandable that such measures should have been written into the 1st Viscount's will.

The notion that the 1st Viscount intended the establishment of a new dynasty at Longford is corroborated by other evidence, such as his treatment of the castle's interiors, and his planting of trees in the grounds, both to be explored later in this thesis. It is testament to the 1st Viscount's successful amalgamation of the different prerequisites of noble status in the eighteenth century that his successors went on to match and even exceed his achievements as an aristocrat. As Dana Arnold has shown, visual culture can be construed as an expression of nationality,[41] and it was through the simultaneous aesthetic subscription to different components of English identity, and a role at the forefront of the promotion of the arts in England in general, that the 1st Viscount successfully negotiated this transition.

William Bouverie, 1st Earl of Radnor (1724-1776)

The 1st Viscount's son, William, inherited Longford Castle on his father's death in 1761. Following a precedent set both by his Bouverie forebears and his maternal grandfather, he was involved with the Levant Company, becoming a governor in 1771.[42] The retention of a link with the family's mercantile origins demonstrates the 1st Earl's desire for continuity with his family's heritage, as well as an ongoing concern with the consolidation of their wealth. However, in taking on the role of governor, a less active and more ceremonial position in line with the rising social status of those who held it,[43] rather than a position at the heart of the business

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[40] M. Craske, *The Silent Rhetoric of the Body: A History of Monumental Sculpture and Commemorative Art in England, 1720-1770*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007, p. 372. Potential disposal was often easier for newly-established families, as they were often unbound by "any earlier moral or legal obligations" (Stone and Stone, *Open Elite?*, pp. 85-86).
[41] D. Arnold, 'Introduction' in D. Arnold (ed.) *Cultural Identities and the Aesthetics of Britishness*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004, pp. 4-5
[42] Radnor, *Huguenot Family*, p. 47. In the 1st Earl's account books, a payment for "Fees at my Election of Governor of the Turkey Company" is recorded on 17th July 1771 (WSHC 1946/3/1B/3 Account book [of personal expenditure of the 1st and 2nd Earls of Radnor] 1768-1795).
[43] Wood, *History of the Levant Company*, p. 206

overseas,[44] he encapsulated the family's progression from traders to aristocrats who had links with trade.

The 1st Earl's will evinces the amount of property he purchased throughout his lifetime.[45] One of his most significant land acquisitions was a second country estate, Coleshill in Berkshire, which he gained upon his first marriage, to Harriot Pleydell (1723-1750), in 1748.[46] She was heiress to her father Sir Mark Pleydell's (fig. 6) land and fortunes, until a codicil was added to his will, leaving them to her and the 1st Earl's son, Jacob (later the 2nd Earl).[47] This alliance, together with the 1st Earl's third marriage, to Anne Hales, Dowager Countess of Feversham (1736-1795), further strengthened the Bouverie family's aristocratic ties.[48]

The 1st Viscount had decreed in his will that all future heirs should take the surname of Bouverie. This clause was tested on the 1st Earl's first marriage, as the alliance brought the Pleydell family's name, as well as land and fortune, to the Bouveries.[49] Sir Mark's will decreed that his inheritors should "assume ye Sirname of Pleydell".[50] When eighteenth-century aristocratic families were faced with a 'name and arms clause', decreeing that the wife's surname be retained, it was customary for a new, double-barrelled surname to be created.[51] This often happened when the husband held a prestigious surname, or was unwilling to give up his own,[52] indicating the "complex and fluid processes of inheritance, and the intermingling of family lines and property."[53] But, in the case of the Bouveries, there was the additional incentive that the 1st Earl would otherwise have had to give up all claim to his own inheritance: therefore, the surname Pleydell-Bouverie came into effect.

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[44] As were held by his seventeenth-century forebears, such as Edward Des Bouverie (1621-1694).
[45] TNA Prob 11/1016 Will of … William [1st] Earl of Radnor, pp. 3, 18
[46] Radnor, *Huguenot Family*, p. 47
[47] Radnor, *Huguenot Family*, p. 47
[48] His second marriage was to Rebecca Alleyne, a second cousin and close friend of Harriot (WSHC 1946/4/2A/6).
[49] Radnor, *Huguenot Family*, p. 47
[50] TNA Prob 11/943, pp. 4-5
[51] Spring, *Law, Land, & Family*, pp. 95-96
[52] Spring, *Law, Land, & Family*, pp. 95-96
[53] See K. Retford, *Pictures in Little: The Conversation Piece in Georgian England*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, forthcoming, chapter 6.

The Bouverie name was thus retained, ensuring the continuity and security of the 'house' over time, in line with the 1st Viscount's wishes. Significantly, it was made the suffix, as the 1st Viscount had specifically directed that, should another name be attached to his, it should be placed "before and proceeding" Bouverie, "to the Intent that Bouverie may be deemed the Chief family name".[54] The Stones have argued that the suffix within a double-barrelled name was considered the "critical" one.[55] The gains accrued by the 1st Earl's marriage to Harriot did not, therefore, overshadow the significance of their name, one of the central facets of the family's identity. However, it is significant that stability was achieved through a willingness to accommodate a certain level of change: the 1st Earl subscribed to the old adage that one must adapt in order to thrive.

The 1st Earl was also involved in a number of philanthropic initiatives. For example, following his father, who was a guardian, he became a governor of the Foundling Hospital,[56] an organisation aimed at assisting orphans whose governors notably formed a network of patrons and artists. The family's general commitment to philanthropic activity suggests a subscription to the ideal of poor relief that Eileen Barrett has argued was an essentially Huguenot practice later emulated by Englishmen.[57] The 1st Earl's loyalty to his family's Huguenot origins is evident in his most significant philanthropic venture: his involvement in the French Hospital, or 'La Providence', a Huguenot charity in London.[58] This had been established in the early eighteenth century to provide care for destitute, elderly or infirm Huguenot refugees arriving in England.[59] The 1st Earl was elected a governor of this philanthropic organisation, a three-year post, and his successors continued in his footsteps as governors, thus continuing to uphold links with their Huguenot peers.

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[54] TNA Prob 11/863, p. 22

[55] Stone and Stone, *Open Elite?*, p. 136

[56] T. Murdoch and R. Vigne, *The French Hospital in England: Its Huguenot History and Collections*, Cambridge: John Adamson, 2009, pp. 90-91

[57] E. Barrett, 'Huguenot Integration in Late 17th- and 18th-Century London: Insights from Records of the French Church and some Relief Agencies' in Vigne and Littleton (eds.) *From Strangers to Citizens*, p. 380. For examples of the 2nd Earl's charity, see donations and subscriptions to Christ's Hospital, a charitable school in London in WSHC 1946/4/2G/2/15 Various [correspondence etc] 1782-1869.

[58] Subsequent Earls of Radnor have served in the same role (Radnor, J. 'Foreword' in Murdoch and Vigne, *French Hospital in England*, p. 7). For more on the 1st Earl's involvement in the French Hospital, see TNA Huguenot Library H/C6/9 Note of Lord Radnor's election as Director 1770; TNA Huguenot Library H/A1/1 Livre de Déliberations de la Corporation Françoise … 1770-1835; TNA Huguenot Library H/F3/9 Appeal for funds for rebuilding the bakehouse wing, addressed to the Earl of Radnor c.1763.

[59] Murdoch and Vigne, *French Hospital in England*, p. 8

By this stage, the 1st Earl may have felt sufficiently established within English society to associate himself publicly with a Huguenot organisation.

The 1st Earl was also involved in politics, and one of his political viewpoints suggests the prevailing influence of Huguenot beliefs. He was opposed to the licensing of a Playhouse in Manchester, when a Bill on the subject was debated in the House of Lords in 1775.[60] Tessa Murdoch has noted that, despite many Huguenot descendants' later successes in this arena, the "profane theatre" had been banned in John Calvin's (1509-1564) Protestant Geneva.[61] Whether the 1st Earl's opposition was influenced by Calvinist morals is uncertain, but the resistance is worth noting, given this historical precedent.

The 1st Earl, like his father, can also be credited with cultivating an interest in the English past that served to entrench his family's sense of belonging in their new country. However, the forms of English history to which the 1st Earl turned speak of their time, and of his own individual predilections. For instance, he took a particular interest in constitutional history going back to King Alfred the Great (849-899). In 1767, he bought a statue of *Fame* by the sculptor John Michael Rysbrack for the garden at Longford, and commissioned the artist's pupil, Gaspar Van der Hagen (d.1769), to add a depiction of Alfred to the medallion held by Fame,[62] providing an interesting example of a work of art being refashioned in line with the family's personal tastes and interests.[63]

The Anglo-Saxon period was particularly revered by Whig historians, and by the English in general, following the thesis proposed by the Huguenot nobleman Paul de Rapin de Thoyras (1661-1725), in his *Histoire d'Angleterre*, that the principle of liberty

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[60] W. Cobbett and T. C. Hansard (eds.) *Cobbett's Parliamentary History of England from the Norman Conquest, in 1066 to the year 1803*, 36 Vols., London: R. Bagshaw, 1806-1820, Vol. XVIII, pp. 631-637
[61] T. Murdoch, *The Quiet Conquest: The Huguenots 1685 to 1985*, London: Museum of London in association with the Huguenot Society of London, 1985, p. 141
[62] WSHC 1946/3/1B/2. See S. Keynes, 'The Cult of King Alfred the Great' in *Anglo-Saxon England*, Vol. 28, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, December 1999, published online 26th September 2008, http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0263675100002337 (accessed 27th March 2015), pp. 320-321; M. I. Webb, *Michael Rysbrack, Sculptor*, London: Country Life, 1954, p. 137; K. Eustace, *Michael Rysbrack, Sculptor, 1694-1770*, Bristol: City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, 1982, pp. 182-184; and O. Cox, "Rule, Britannia!' King Alfred the Great and the Creation of a National Hero in England and America, 1640-1800', unpublished PhD thesis, University College, Oxford, 2013, p. 90.
[63] Further examples of artistic patronage will be discussed in Chapters 3 and 5.

and "the foundations of constitutionalism" could be dated to Anglo-Saxon times.[64] Admiration for this historical period therefore brought together disparate elements of the composite identity that the 1st Earl had built up: it combined contemporary politics and current fashions, English history and Whiggery, and it even evoked a Huguenot historian.

Oliver Cox has noted that the key characteristics of eighteenth-century English identity as pinpointed by the historian T. C. W. Blanning – Protestantism, commercial prosperity, imperial expansion and liberty – "could all be dated to Alfred's reign", accounting for the increased popularity of this king during the time.[65] Strikingly, with the exception of imperial expansion, all were key concerns of the Bouverie family in particular, thus attesting to their 'Englishness' during this period, and also accounting for their interest in utilising Alfred as a vehicle through which it could be expressed.

Simon Keynes has attributed the 1st Earl's interest in this historical monarch partly to "the new intensity of feeling for Alfred" which arose in the 1760s,[66] suggesting that this veneration was, to some degree, prompted by wider trends. A number of other patrons had commissioned images of Alfred throughout the century, from Queen Caroline (1683-1737) to Richard Temple, 1st Viscount Cobham (1675-1749), to various political ends.[67] The 1st Earl and three of his sons attended University College, Oxford, supposedly founded by the Anglo-Saxon king,[68] and Cox has noted the importance of Alfred's legacy for graduates of the college.[69] Such veneration might, therefore, be expected.

However, the values of liberty and freedom from oppression associated with the king held a particular resonance for the Bouverie family. The 1st Earl had a Latin

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[64] K. Jones and D. Shawe-Taylor, "An Amiable Philosopher': Queen Caroline and the Encouragement of Learning' in D. Shawe-Taylor (ed.) *The First Georgians: Art and Monarchy, 1714-1760*, London: Royal Collection Trust, 2014, p. 271. On the historiography and appropriation of Alfred in the eighteenth century, see Cox, "Rule, Britannia!".
[65] See T. C. W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660-1789*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 356 and Cox, "Rule, Britannia!", p. 3.
[66] Keynes, 'Cult of King Alfred', p. 321
[67] Cox, "Rule, Britannia!", pp. 104-105
[68] Keynes, 'Cult of King Alfred', p. 321
[69] Cox, "Rule, Britannia!", p. 88

inscription added to the aforementioned sculpture, which evokes such sentiments.[70] This, and the fact that his successor also took an interest in Alfred, as will be shown, suggests that the 1st Earl was not simply following fashionable regard for Alfred, but that the Anglo-Saxon emphasis on liberty particularly resonated with his family's pursuit of freedom in England.

The 1st Earl thus allied himself with a blend of 'stakeholders': the English nation, the Huguenot community, and the landed aristocracy. The resultant melange might have created a somewhat ambiguous social identity, but it was perhaps this flexibility that successfully ensured the Bouveries' ongoing security in, and even improvement of, their noble status during the eighteenth century. The 1st Earl's politics have been described as "inconsistent",[71] but such inconsistency, a theme that also runs throughout the political activity of his son, surely facilitated this polyvalent and pragmatic outlook.

The most significant change that occurred during the tenure of the 1st Earl at Longford was his ennoblement in 1765, wherein the Earldom of Radnor was recreated, having died out with the Robartes family, its previous holders, in 1757. The Whig grandee Charles Watson-Wentworth, 2nd Marquess of Rockingham (1730-1782) secured the Earldom, writing to the 1st Earl that the request was "well supported by Merit & Character" and that he submitted it "with the utmost willingness".[72] The ennoblement was recorded in *Owen's Weekly Chronicle and Westminster Journal*.[73] In March 1765, a small fee was paid "for entering at the Heralds office the ancient Bouverie Arms", and one for "entering the Family Pedigree at the Herald's Office" was paid two months later.[74] A coat of arms, featuring a double-headed eagle (fig. 7) was permitted in 1768, along with the family motto 'Patria Cara Carior Libertas' or 'My country is dear, but my liberty is dearer'.[75] This motto recalls the family's belief in freedom, deemed of greater import than their nonetheless significant loyalty to England.

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[70] Translation given in Keynes, 'Cult of King Alfred', p. 321, n. 456.
[71] R. Huch, *The Radical Lord Radnor: The Public Life of Viscount Folkestone, Third Earl of Radnor, 1779-1869*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977, p. 6
[72] WSHC 1946/4/2B/3 Letter [from Lord Rockingham to the 1st Earl of Radnor] 1765
[73] WSHC 1946/4/2F/2/1 Report of grant of title 1765
[74] WSHC 1946/3/1B/2
[75] Radnor, *Huguenot Family*, p. 52

This creation of new heraldry in line with the ennoblement enabled the 1st Earl to assert his newly heightened social position. However, such claims to status had to be tempered by gestures that demonstrated the family's intrinsic nobility rather than outward flashy display. Matthew Craske has argued that "the debasement of the currency of heraldry" had arisen from a tendency prevalent in the eighteenth century towards unwarranted heraldic display and "dynastic pomp" in funerals.[76] As a result, more subtle assertions of nobility were encouraged, such as funerary monuments that quietly asserted good taste and breeding, and small, private funerary ceremonies limited to close family.[77]

The 1st Earl's behaviour supports Craske's proposition. His will specifically decreed that his hearse be "attended only by one mourning Coach without Escutcheons and without Supporters to my Pall or any Appearance of funeral pomp".[78] His father had made a similar request in his own will.[79] Moreover, the 1st Earl declared a wish to be buried near to the remains of his deceased spouses,[80] again indicating a wish for a burial based upon notions of privacy and intimacy, relating to immediate family.

This contrasts with the traditional aristocratic model of holding public funerals, involving the local community in a paternalistic manner.[81] Susan Whyman has argued that, in the seventeenth century, this custom communicated a family's "power, status, and wealth", and that the passing of such traditions was lamented.[82] This evidence for the Bouveries' desire for pared-back, modest funerals attests to the notion that they were conscious of, and subscribed to, contemporary ideals about noble behaviour in this context. It must be remembered that some of these values were in fact rooted in the behaviours of the mercantile and middling classes, who sought to foster an identity based on qualities of "restraint, responsibility and

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[76] Craske, *Silent Rhetoric of the Body*, pp. 63-67
[77] See Craske, *Silent Rhetoric of the Body*, pp. 43-45, 67-71.
[78] TNA Prob 11/1016, p. 1
[79] TNA Prob 11/863, p. 1
[80] TNA Prob 11/1016, p. 1
[81] See discussion of the rural middling classes' awareness and expectation of such events from local aristocratic families in N. Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, p. 84.
[82] Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England*, pp. 16, 31-37

respectability."[83] Therefore, the Bouveries utilised some elements of middling-class identity to their advantage, when they actually enhanced the extent to which they appeared noble. This demonstrates the slippage between these perceived social boundaries.

The deceased were, however, interred in a family vault at St. Peter's Church in the parish of Britford, thus linked with the locality for perpetuity.[84] As in the other cases explored in this chapter, this willingness to respond to new trends and requirements, but to temper these with a commitment to older ideals, helped to ensure the Bouverie family's success in securing their social status for the long term.

Jacob Pleydell-Bouverie, 2nd Earl of Radnor (1749-1828)

Jacob, the 1st Earl's eldest son, became 2nd Earl of Radnor upon his father's death in 1776. Like his forebears, he continued to nurture an interest in the Bouveries' Huguenot origins, but on rather different terms to those of his predecessors. The family's social position was, by then, more entrenched and secure. Furthermore, during the 2nd Earl's lifetime, interest in one's ancestry was more common, due to the newly fashionable status of antiquarianism. The 2nd Earl's interests, while still indicative of the family's ongoing Huguenot affiliation, were thus, by the late eighteenth century, also increasingly demonstrative of wider concerns.[85]

Some genealogical notes from c.1800, amassed by the 2nd Earl,[86] demonstrate that he investigated the family's origins through the methods of professionalised antiquarian study, such as the correct use of historical evidence:[87]

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[83] K. Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000, p. 300. Similar traits were also prevalent within the Huguenot community (see Murdoch, *Quiet Conquest*, p. xiii).

[84] See WSHC 1946/4/2A/10 Family vault in St. Peter's, Britford 1765-1923. The 2nd Earl wrote an inscription for the vault in 1777, articulating his gratitude to God for the family's fortune (see WSHC 1946/4/2A/10).

[85] Antiquarianism was taken up by both popular and elite, connoisseurial audiences (see S. Bending, 'The True Rust of the Barons' Wars: Gardens, Ruins, and the National Landscape' in M. Myrone and L. Peltz (eds.) *Producing the Past: Aspects of Antiquarian Culture and Practice 1700-1850*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999, pp. 86-92).

[86] WSHC 1946/4/3P/1-3 Genealogical Notes 1-3 [819-c.1820]

> I have adverted at different Periods of my Life to the Task of giving a satisfactory Pedigree of my Family, of which an erroneous, unadvised & curtailed sketch has appeared in different Publications … Instead of looking back to the Land whence they emigrated & searching the History of their Ancestors, appealing to Evidence of Authority … they contented themselves with a compilation … what was recollected by their then living Relations & Connexions which has been treated the origin of the Family ever since … In pursuance of this wish to ascertain, & establish as correct an account of the Family as I can, I have in addition to the Papers I find in my Fathers Possession collected such Information as from Time to Time lay in my Way – From Books, Writings, Registers, & Individuals-[88]

The notes demonstrate how the 2nd Earl considered his predecessors' more amateur approach not to have done justice to their family history. They had instead contented themselves with incorrect remembrances, undergone the "affectation" of Anglicising their name, and apparently used the incorrect arms.[89] Had he been the head of the family in the 1730s, he may have seen the Anglicisation of the name as a necessary or at least desirable step. At this stage, however, although these were private notes made for unknown ends, it appears that the 2nd Earl felt secure enough in his aristocratic position to recall explicitly his family's roots.

The 2nd Earl also denigrated the family's earlier show of "opulence" and public display of heraldry.[90] Although it has been shown that the 1st Earl attempted to display his nobility through modesty, rather than ostentation, the 2nd Earl believed some of the family's previous actions to have gone too far. Before succeeding to the Earldom, he is believed to have petitioned King George II (1683-1760) to simplify his escutcheon, taking out his mother's quarterings "as there were too many of

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[87] See discussion of this professionalisation in terms of the movement in antiquarianism from 'stories' to 'histories', in S. Crane, 'Story, History and the Passionate Collector' in Myrone and Peltz (eds.) *Producing the Past*, pp. 190-2.
[88] WSHC 1946/4/3P/3 Genealogical notes 3 [819-c.1800]
[89] WSHC 1946/4/3P/3
[90] WSHC 1946/4/3P/3

them."[91] His taste for heraldry and interest in ancestry, therefore, was conditioned by changing personal and cultural circumstances.

The family's antiquarianism at this time is also demonstrated by the fact that the 2nd Earl was a member of the Society of Antiquaries,[92] and that, in 1830, two years after his death, a donation of coins was made to the British Museum by William Pleydell-Bouverie, 3rd Earl of Radnor (1779-1869).[93] The coins dated from Anglo-Saxon times to the Tudor and Stuart reigns, and encompassed a broad geography across much of Europe. Notably, some other early benefactors of the British Museum were Huguenots.[94] Antiquarian enthusiasm, Huguenot values, and wider trends in collecting amongst the elite may thus have combined to motivate this gift.

Several aspects of the 2nd Earl's life attest to an ongoing affiliation with the Huguenot community. By following his father as a governor of the French Hospital,[95] overseeing the board of management which comprised a deputy-governor, treasurer, secretary and a number of directors, the 2nd Earl nurtured links with other descendants of Huguenot refugees in England, such as the Bosanquest, de Crespigny, Delmé, Ducane, Fonnereau and Lethiuellier families, who were also involved in the institution.[96] Throughout the eighteenth century, even as successive generations of Huguenot families were further assimilated into English society, perhaps moving their place of worship from Huguenot to Anglican churches, those of Huguenot descent were still drawn to support the French Hospital, despite its sometimes waning fortunes, particularly during the late eighteenth-century political

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[91] Radnor, *Huguenot Family*, p. 52

[92] He was considered as a potential President of the Society (see K. Garlick and A. Macintyre (eds.) *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, 17 Vols., New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978, Vol. XI, pp. 3998, 4036). However, it has also been suggested that "the Earl seems to have been almost invisible within the Society" (pers. comm., A. James to the author, 2nd June 2014).

[93] WSHC 1946/4/2B/6 Correspondence 1774-1830

[94] Such as Matthew Maty (1718-1776), who made "at least twenty donations", and William Lethieullier (d.1755), who gave, along with his cousin, "Egyptian antiquities, bottled specimens and a stuffed pelican" (Murdoch, *Quiet Conquest*, p. 149).

[95] On his work for the French Hospital, see TNA Huguenot Library H/A1/2 Minutes; TNA Huguenot Library H/E9/1 Act of Parliament for enabling the Hospital Corporation to grant part of their site and lands upon building leases 1808; and Murdoch and Vigne, *French Hospital in England*, p. 44.

[96] On the management structure and these families' involvement in the French Hospital, see Murdoch and Vigne, *French Hospital in England*, pp. 35, 90-91.

upheavals in France.[97] It provided a focal point around which Huguenotism could be remembered and retained by these families.

The 2nd Earl's fifth son, the Honourable Philip Pleydell-Bouverie (1788-1872), was employed by Bosanquet, Beachcroft & Reeves, bankers of Lombard Street,[98] and in 1806, wrote to inform his father of "Mr Bosanquet['s]" thanks for "the Pheasants he has received from Longford".[99] This situation indicates how the family upheld connections with the Huguenot and mercantile community, but it must also be remembered that it was acceptable for them, as aristocrats, to be linked to the financial world at this time.[100] What is of particular interest is the fact that the 2nd Earl sent a gift of pheasants to the Bosanquets. As an emblem of landowning traditions, pheasants served to reinforce the social distinction between the 2nd Earl and the Bosanquets, despite their shared Huguenot heritage.[101] Huguenotism and trade met with title and landowning traditions: a scenario that attests to the Bouveries' ongoing flexibility and engagement with different social groups.

Like his predecessors, the 2nd Earl was involved in local politics and charity near the family seat. In 1781, he paid the great sum of £628 10s. for a stained glass window in Salisbury Cathedral.[102] This gift suggests that the 2nd Earl's faith may have had a part to play in his charitable activities, as it is reminiscent of the Huguenot-derived practice of giving gifts to churches. Four years later, in 1785, he donated land for a new Guildhall in Salisbury,[103] a benefaction commemorated in a portrait commission (fig. 3).[104] The 2nd Earl was also contacted in 1810 regarding the potential establishment of the 'Salisbury Philanthropic Bank'. It was suggested that the bank's surpluses "should go in aid of the various charitable institutions" in the surrounding

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[97] Murdoch and Vigne, *French Hospital in England*, pp. 40-42
[98] See WSHC 1946/4/2B/20 Correspondence of Jacob, 2nd Earl of Radnor 1804-1812.
[99] WSHC 1946/4/2B/28 Correspondence 1807-1808
[100] It was not uncommon for younger sons in older established aristocratic families to be sent into trade at this time (see Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England*, chapters 2 and 3).
[101] See social symbolism of gifts of venison discussed in Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England*, pp. 23, 29. Although fowl was of a lesser status than venison, both were emblematic of landownership.
[102] WSHC 1946/3/1B/3. See also WSHC 1946/4/2G/2/7 Correspondence about stained glass windows in Salisbury Cathedral 1776-1880.
[103] Radnor, *Huguenot Family*, pp. 59-60
[104] The portrait was painted by John Hoppner, and was intended for the Council Room (see WSHC 1946/4/2B/4 Correspondence … 1771-1821).

area.[105] The letter mentions that ministers "are generally too much engaged, to give Plans of this sort consideration", but hopes that "your Lordship will give this Publicity",[106] suggesting that the 2nd Earl was perceived as being particularly amenable to such locally based, philanthropic initiatives, although it is unclear what happened to this particular proposal.

A commitment to the notion of liberty, following the values espoused by his family motto, is also visible in the 2nd Earl's politics. He spoke in a number of parliamentary debates,[107] taking a stance predicated upon independence. As he was by this point disengaged from trade,[108] the 2nd Earl was considered fit to take participate in politics, being uninfluenced by the need to acquire capital, a process "deemed morally contaminating" and a hindrance to political independence.[109]

In correspondence with George Washington (1732-1799), the 2nd Earl described himself as one "who enlisted in no political party here as a public man".[110] He has been labelled a Whig with radical inclinations, "'sticking up for the rights of the people"',[111] but his political ambitions have also been described as "too idiosyncratic to bring him preferment".[112] He studied at University College, Oxford, which during this period was known to be Tory, helping to establish its dining club.[113] Although this range of associations may attest to a conflicted and uncertain character, it is possible to conjecture that the 2nd Earl sought to ensure the continuity of his social position by not tying himself down to any one fixed identity that might become dislodged or misinterpreted in the changeable social and political scene of the time.

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105 WSHC 1946/4/2B/20
106 WSHC 1946/4/2B/20
107 See Cobbett and Hansard, *Cobbett's Parliamentary History*, Vols. XVII-XIX, XXI-XXIV, XXVII, XXIX-XXX, XXXII, XXXIV-XXXV.
108 Although it was noted earlier that his son Philip worked for a bank, for a younger son of an aristocrat to engage in the commercial world was not controversial at this time.
109 Craske, *Silent Rhetoric of the Body*, p. 362
110 WSHC 1946/4/2B/14 Correspondence of Jacob, 2nd Earl of Radnor: George Washington's letter 1797
111 Radnor, *Huguenot Family*, p. 54
112 Langford, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman*, p. 573
113 On politics and the membership of the dining club, see L. Mitchell, 'The First Univ. Dining Club' in *University College Record*, Vol. 5, August 1970, pp. 352-358 and WSHC 1946/4/2G/2/16 Printed memorial 1804.

The 2nd Earl's libertarianism is visible in his contribution to parliamentary debates on subjects including America[114] and the India Bill.[115] In 1772, as 3rd Viscount Folkestone, he spoke vehemently against the Royal Marriage Bill on the grounds of freedom[116] and equality. Recounting the ancestry of Queen Elizabeth I (1533-1603), and how the Romans permitted intermarriage with plebeians, he argued for the fundamental equality of all.[117] The 2nd Earl's use of historical exemplars demonstrates his keenness to stress his knowledge of and respect for tradition, as well as his desire to advance his argument.

In 1793, despite only twenty-eight years having elapsed since the recreation of the Earldom of Radnor, the 2nd Earl proclaimed upon the suitability – or not – of the creation of an aristocratic title, in a debate pertaining to a Patent of Creation of the Baroness of Bath. He argued that "while there must be nobility, there must be some attention to that science",[118] suggesting a regard for the decorous and proper application of the rules of title. Such concern for propriety implies that the 2nd Earl felt fully established within the world which his family had not so long previously joined; so much so that he was willing to pronounce and advise upon the nuances of the system.[119]

The 2nd Earl's interest in upholding tradition is corroborated by a contemporary description of him as a "grand Borer after forms and precedents in the House of Lords".[120] Indeed, at this time in the early 1790s, following the first French Revolution, the 2nd Earl might have been especially keen to emphasise his regard for rank and tradition to distance himself from the happenings on the continent, and the notion of liberty espoused by the French. Thus, he called upon historical precedent to affiliate himself with English tradition and history, and perhaps thereby also to temper his perceived 'radicalism'.

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114 Cobbett and Hansard, *Cobbett's Parliamentary History*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 1019-1020, 1370
115 Cobbett and Hansard, *Cobbett's Parliamentary History*, Vol. XXIV, p. 194
116 See Cobbett and Hansard, *Cobbett's Parliamentary History*, Vol. XVII, pp. 395-396, 419.
117 Cobbett and Hansard, *Cobbett's Parliamentary History*, Vol. XVII, p. 418
118 Cobbett and Hansard, *Cobbett's Parliamentary History*, Vol. XXX, pp. 573-574
119 He was also enlisted for heraldic advice by Charlotte Fitzgerald, Baroness de Ros (1769-1831), on her newly granted title in 1806 (see WSHC 1946/4/2B/20).
120 William Beckford quoted in G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage or a History of the House of Lords and all its Members from the Earliest Times*, 14 Vols., London: St. Catherine Press, 1945, Vol. X, p. 718. With thanks to Adrian James for bringing this to my attention.

The 2nd Earl reconciled a belief in liberty, freedom and social justice with a more conservative attitude in a 1795 debate in the Lords on the Treasonable Practices Bill. He again appealed to history, by "seriously recommend[ing] to the attention of government, the statute of Edward 3d", as it formed the basis of the law of treason.[121] It is interesting to note his reference to the Plantagenet king, as, in 1779, a genealogical tree had been drawn up tracing the ancestry both of the 2nd Earl[122] and his wife Anne Duncombe (1759-1829) to an earlier member of the Plantagenet dynasty, King Edward I (1239-1307).[123] This document not only attests to his interest in genealogy, but also a specific desire to associate his family with these monarchs. The Plantagenets attracted antiquarian interest during the eighteenth century. In 1771, the tomb of Edward I at Westminster Abbey had been exhumed, and the medieval period was generally esteemed for having seen the foundation of the English constitution and common law.[124] In referring to the kings of the period, therefore, the 2nd Earl gave a conservative spin to his politics.

An interest in King Alfred was carried forward to this generation of the Bouverie family. A drawing, dating from 1767, the year in which the 2nd Earl entered University College, depicts him holding a medallion of Alfred (fig. 8).[125] He also presented a bust of Alfred by the sculptor Joseph Wilton (1722-1803) to University College in 1771, instead of silver, the usual gift that well-born undergraduates would make.[126] This recurrence of Alfred as a leitmotif suggests the family's ongoing desire to associate themselves with the Anglo-Saxon period and its liberal values, as well as a subscription to a fashionable trend.

The 2nd Earl's multivalent political position could be attributed to his having been a complex and conflicted man, but his flexible approach helped to further consolidate

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121 Cobbett and Hansard, *Cobbett's Parliamentary History*, Vol. XXXII, p. 247
122 Through the Pleydell line.
123 WSHC 1946/4/2A/2 Descent from Edward I [c.1270]-1779
124 R. Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, London and New York: Hambledon and London, 2004, pp. 231, 278
125 Keynes, 'Cult of King Alfred', p. 321. Elsewhere, the drawing has been identified as of William, 1st Earl of Radnor (National Portrait Gallery, Heinz Archive, Sitter box for 1st Earl of Radnor). However, the drawing shows a young man, suggesting that it portrays the 2nd Earl, who would have been aged 18 at this time, rather than the 1st Earl, who would have been 43.
126 Pers. comm., R. Darwall-Smith to the author, 30th June 2014. The bust has been located in the Library since 1938 (Keynes, 'Cult of King Alfred', p. 324, n. 468).

the family's increasingly secure dynastic position. His attitude and fluidity of allegiances may perhaps have been the result of a deliberate and strategic policy, the result of precedent, or borne of instinct and pragmatism, responding to circumstances; most likely it was a combination of all these factors.

Conclusion

By the early nineteenth century, the Bouverie family had made the transition from Huguenot merchant traders to well-established members of the landed aristocracy. This chapter has shown how the family forged connections across communities and achieved a sense of security in their contemporary social position, their lineage, and into posterity. Each individual worked within different cultural circumstances, and with different inheritances, but the success of their assimilation process during this period was ultimately dependent upon their ability to adapt, and to look both to tradition and the future, whilst retaining a sense of individuality.

Was the movement from merchant to landed elite as planned as it might appear? Although it is possible that the family's upward trajectory was the result of an instinctive process that unfolded in response to the events, the historian Michael Mascuch has argued that, with the development of biography and autobiography in the eighteenth century, "people learned to see themselves as objects of their own making", able to escape inherited or circumstantial identities.[127] Thus, it seems possible to ascribe discrete agency to these individuals, and to understand their social ascent as a more conscious process, deliberately planned with the endpoint foreseen.

It was suggested earlier that the family's social trajectory might not necessarily be understood as a journey of assimilation *per se*. Scholars have recently argued against the received notion of 'emulation theory', first expounded by the historian Thorstein Veblen in the 1920s, which proposed that aspirational middling classes sought to replicate the values and lifestyles of the established elites through conspicuous

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[127] M. Mascuch, *Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography and Self-Identity in England, 1591-1791*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996, pp. 131, 199

consumption.[128] Margaret Hunt, for example, has instead suggested that some people engaged in trade at this time harboured a sense of "deep ambivalence" about what they understood to be the values and habits of elites,[129] and Stephen Hague has recently argued for the need to move beyond models of emulation "to examine status-building processes in more detailed and nuanced ways."[130] We should be cautious of automatically assuming a desire to emulate the aristocracy on the part of those whose origins lay in trade, even if they did ultimately make the transition to that class.

Supporting this, elements of the Bouveries' unique identity were retained throughout the eighteenth century, and may in fact have aided their transition to elite status. Hunt has argued that the focus on upwards emulation has prevented a full understanding of the way in which elites themselves sought to imitate the practices of middling people,[131] particularly aspects they felt could be beneficial,[132] such as the habit of keeping accounts. This practice was often influenced by religious observance,[133] or commercial activity, and could be used to the benefit of landed estates, themselves trading enterprises, where an appearance of "rationality, honesty, and control" helped the aristocracy cultivate an image of "good stewardship of one's estate".[134] Given the preservation of meticulous accounts relating to eighteenth-century expenditure at Longford Castle, one might argue that the Bouverie family used their background to their advantage in this respect, appropriating the customs and techniques they had learned to ensure their success in this new, landed context. Moreover, the middling values of diligence, self-control and time-keeping, seen to be indicative of one's moral standing, were considered desirable traits in political leaders, held in contrast to the dangers of leisurely luxury.[135] Retaining such virtues

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[128] A. Vickery, 'Women and the World of Goods: A Lancashire Consumer and her Possessions, 1751-81' in J. Brewer and R. Porter (eds.) *Consumption and the World of Goods*, London and New York: Routledge, 1993, p. 275. See also L. Weatherill, 'The Meaning of Consumer Behaviour in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England' in Brewer and Porter (eds.) *Consumption and the World of Goods*, p. 208.
[129] Hunt, *Middling Sort*, p. 3
[130] Hague, *Gentleman's House*, p. 140
[131] Hunt, *Middling Sort*, p. 65
[132] Hunt, *Middling Sort*, p. 213
[133] S. P. Walker and S. Llewellyn, 'Accounting at Home: Some Interdisciplinary Perspectives' in *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal*, Vol. 13, Issue 4, 2000, pp. 434-435
[134] Hunt, *Middling Sort*, pp. 44, 58-59, 61
[135] Hunt, *Middling Sort*, pp. 55, 72, 198

from their mercantile or Huguenot background[136] helped to legitimate the Bouveries' claims to political leadership.

The Bouveries were, as the social and economic historian Keith Wrightson has termed it, part of the "culturally amphibious" landed class, spending time in town surrounded by commerce, running their estates as businesses, but also standing for "tradition and hierarchy … rever[ing] lineage and ancestry."[137] Whether more or less consciously or unintentionally achieved, their range of allegiances and identities within the changing society of eighteenth-century England secured – as far as was possible – the longevity of their family's estate, both financially and symbolically. As this thesis will show, this range of interests was reflected in the Bouveries' artistic taste and patronage.

[136] Hunt suggested, but dismissed as only a partial account, the notion that "more disciplined attitudes toward time were … [a] development from the Calvinist notion of calling" (Hunt, *Middling Sort*, p. 53).
[137] Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, p. 275

Chapter 2: Longford Castle

This chapter introduces Longford Castle, its architecture and surroundings, to provide context for the discussions of interior decoration, acquisitions of fine and decorative art, and contemporary experience of the house and its collections that will follow. It explores the castle's distinctive architectural profile, and investigates the Bouverie family's response to and treatment of the Elizabethan building and its grounds in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Although the family did not build their country seat, unlike many eighteenth-century aristocrats and art collectors, they did propose and undertake some works on the castle during the period, and maintained its fabric in good repair. This chapter analyses the changes made, as well as those ideas that did not reach fruition, in an exploration of the Bouveries' attitudes towards their country seat.

This chapter also situates Longford in relation to the other properties owned and inhabited by the Bouverie family during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: notably Coleshill House, Berkshire,[1] and a number of London town houses, some of which were rented, and one of which – 52 Grosvenor Street – was inherited. Rachel Stewart has argued that "a study of the town house is … critical to a full understanding of the country house".[2] Where possible, this thesis draws comparisons between the properties the family owned, in order to establish the role and significance of Longford. Although it does not match the Longford archive in scale, a collection of papers relating to the Bouveries' ownership of Coleshill during our period does survive. There is less available evidence, however, on their London homes.[3]

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[1] Destroyed by fire in 1952.

[2] R. Stewart, *The Town House in Georgian London*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009, p. 17

[3] A study of London town houses during the period 1780-1830 undertaken by Susannah Brooke revealed little archival evidence pertaining to the Bouverie family (pers. comm. S. Brooke to S. Avery-Quash, forwarded to the author, 22nd October 2014). For the evidence that was found, see S. Brooke, 'Appendix I: Prosopography' in S. Brooke, 'Private Art Collections and London Town Houses, 1780-1830', unpublished PhD thesis, Queen's College, University of Cambridge, 2013, p. 292.

Use and Function of Different Properties

The 1st Viscount Folkestone inherited Longford from his childless brother, Sir Edward des Bouverie, in 1737. Previously, he had spent his early adult life living in a number of rented properties in London and Kent. Following his first marriage in 1724, he had lived between a town house in Red Lion Street, Bloomsbury, and a house in Wingham, Kent.[4] He had then rented Bifrons Abbey, also in Kent, from the Reverend Herbert Taylor (1698-1765).[5] Following his inheritance of Longford, the 1st Viscount took a new London house, in Clifford Street, St. James's.[6] He may well have felt that the prestige of an address in St. James's suited his newly landed status and, in practical terms, it would have provided better access to Parliament when he undertook duties as MP for Salisbury.

The 1st Earl of Radnor lived in a rented London property in Old Burlington Street,[7] before acquiring 52 Grosvenor Street through his third wife, Anne Hales, Dowager Countess of Feversham.[8] This property went on to be used by his son and heir, the 2nd Earl of Radnor, who had lived beforehand in a rented house in Portman Square.[9] 52 Grosvenor Street is the most significant of the London properties inhabited by the Bouveries during the period dealt with in this thesis, as it was to remain in the family until 1897 – the longest time any London town house remained associated with them.[10] Moreover, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries,

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[4] See Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre (hereafter WSHC) 1946/3/2A/8 Research volumes for the Countess of Radnor's catalogue of paintings [c.1890-c.1930] and 1946/4/2A/6 Nancy Steele's Family History [16th century-c.2000].

[5] WSHC 1946/3/2A/8. See payments relating to these properties, and movement between them in WSHC 1946/3/1B/1 House book [of household and personal expenses of Sir Jacob Bouverie] 1723-1745.

[6] D. G. C. Allan, 'Bouverie, Jacob first Viscount Folkestone (*bap.* 1694, *d.* 1761)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Oct 2007, online edition, January 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38924 (accessed 21st October 2015) and F. H. W. Sheppard (ed.) 'Cork Street and Savile Row Area: Table of notable inhabitants on the Burlington Estate' in *Survey of London: St James Westminster, Part 2*, 47 Vols., London: London County Council, 1963, Vols. XXXI and XXXII, pp. 566-572, *British History Online*, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vols31-2/pt2/pp566-572 (accessed 28th June 2016)

[7] Sheppard, 'Cork Street and Savile Row Area'. In 1764, the 2nd Earl paid £250 for "a years Rent for the House I live in in Burlington Street" (WSHC 1946/3/1B/2 House book [of household and personal expenses of Sir Jacob Bouverie and William, 1st Earl of Radnor] 1745-1768).

[8] WSHC 1946/3/2A/8. See also his removal bill for the transfer of possessions from Portman Square to Grosvenor Street in 1778 (WSHC 1946/3/1B/3 Account book [of personal expenditure of the 1st and 2nd Earls of Radnor] 1768-1795).

[9] WSHC 1946/4/2A/6

[10] WSHC 1946/4/2A/6

neighbours included Paul Methuen (1723-1795), an important art collector and owner of Corsham Court, Wiltshire, near Longford; the landowner Robert Grosvenor, 1st Marquess of Westminster (1767-1845); and the politician Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850).[11] This was a prestigious address, attracting residents of quality, with whom the Bouveries were able to associate themselves.

All three family members under discussion in this thesis made use of London residences in a manner conventional amongst their eighteenth-century aristocratic peers. Stewart has observed that city living was more prevalent at certain stages of life, such as early adulthood when it enabled newlyweds to enjoy the freedoms and cultural attractions of the city and to be closer to medical care when expecting children, and widowhood, when a husband's estate had passed to his heir and his widow thus required a new place to live.[12] Indeed, in his will, the 2nd Earl left the Grosvenor Street property to his wife "for her Life".[13]

The degree to which the family moved between various town houses, only settling in one location on the event of an inheritance, is notable. However, many aristocrats saw the town house as a less permanent fixture, and one less closely associated with the family's identity than their country seat. Individual members of a family might occupy different town houses, for instance.[14] The Bouverie family adhered to this pattern, as a note from *Boyle's Court Guide 1792* copied down by Helen Matilda, Countess of Radnor attests. It lists nine separate London residences occupied by the family, concentrated in Mayfair.[15]

Once the 1st Viscount and 1st and 2nd Earls each inherited Longford Castle, they appeared to treat it as their primary home, as many aristocrats did upon inheriting a country seat. Helen Matilda noted that the 1st Viscount "lived almost entirely at

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[11] Brooke, 'Appendix I: Prosopography', pp. 290, 292, 296
[12] Stewart, *Town House in Georgian London*, pp. 29-30, 32-34, 38
[13] The National Archives (hereafter TNA) Prob 11/1741 Will of Jacob, 2nd Earl of Radnor. The Dowager Countess could thus take part in London social life: as her granddaughter, Lady Jane Ellice (1819-1903), recounted, although she was never "a Court Lady", she had been "a personal friend" to Queen Charlotte (1744-1818), and called upon Princess Victoria of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld, Duchess of Kent (1786-1861) and her daughter, later Queen Victoria (1819-1901) (see WSHC 1946/4/2A/13 Correspondence 1889-1896 and WSHC 1946/4/2B/31 Correspondence 1808-1923).
[14] Stewart, *Town House in Georgian London*, p. 56
[15] WSHC 1946/3/2A/12 Correspondence and research notes for the Countess of Radnor's catalogue: family portraits 1891-1987

Longford" when in the country.[16] He tended to chair meetings of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce in London during the winter,[17] and kept up with the business and proceedings of the Society remotely during the summer, as his correspondence indicates.[18] The 1st Earl also appears to have adhered to these standard aristocratic living arrangements.[19]

Landowners were required to attend Parliament during the winter season, but their duties also necessitated their presence in the countryside.[20] Political power was ultimately underpinned by landownership.[21] As Stewart has noted, "the country house and estate were cause, effect and symbol of financial security, national political authority, local superiority and power … and the prospect of the continuance of all of these".[22] Moreover, Christopher Christie has identified a dichotomy in the perception of the city and the countryside, the former being seen as "the source of luxury", the latter home to the "nation's leaders".[23] Residence at Longford would have associated the Bouverie family with the virtues of country living and the classical tradition of ancient Roman political leaders retiring to dwellings outside the city to think,[24] augmenting their noble status and emphasising their suitability to their new position.

The significance of Longford to the family, as an established country seat situated ninety miles from London, is also of interest when considered in light of their mercantile origins. The merchant elites of the eighteenth century often inhabited

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16 WSHC 1946/3/2A/8

17 Royal Society of Arts (hereafter RSA) RSA/AD/MA/100/12/01/01 Minutes of the Society, 1754-1757

18 See RSA/PR/GE/110/1/22 Letter from Lord Folkestone … 2nd June 1755 and discussion in A. Smith, 'Lord Folkestone and the Society of Arts: Picturing the First President', *William Shipley Group for RSA History Occasional Paper*, No. 29, April 2016, pp. 16-17.

19 Cellar accounts for the London houses occupied by the 1st Earl run from January to June, indicating his residence in town during the first half of the year, perhaps hosting and entertaining guests, before moving to Longford for the summer and autumn (WSHC 1946/3/4A/9 Cellar accounts for London houses 1768-1777).

20 Stewart, *Town House in Georgian London*, p. 29

21 K. Retford, G. Perry and J. Vibert, 'Introduction' in G. Perry, K. Retford and J. Vibert (eds.) *Placing Faces: The Portrait and the English Country House in the Long Eighteenth Century*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013, p. 3

22 Stewart, *Town House in Georgian London*, p. 56

23 C. Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000, p. 2. For more on the relationship between the countryside and the city in the eighteenth century, see E. McKellar, *Landscapes of London: The City, the Country and the Suburbs 1660-1840*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013, p. xv.

24 Christie, *British Country House*, p. 203

villas near to the capital and their place of work, which were seen as "welcome retreats and worthwhile investments", as opposed to "far-flung country estates of the aristocratic type".[25] The Bouveries did not build or permanently occupy a suburban villa in the Home Counties in this way, and instead conformed to more aristocratic patterns of property ownership.

M. H. Port has posed the questions "where was 'home'?" and "what was the 'capital' of a great family's domain?", concluding that the answers were different according to the individual family.[26] Given the Bouveries' status as relative newcomers on the English aristocratic and political scene, it was doubtless particularly important for them to retain and cultivate their links with Salisbury and its environs, through local political and charitable work, and, crucially, residence at Longford.

For instance, although it had acted as a primary country seat for its previous owner, Sir Mark Stuart Pleydell, Coleshill took second place to Longford under Bouverie ownership. During the 1st Earl's lifetime, it appears to have been used as a staging post, providing a temporary resting point for family members travelling between Longford and Oxford, or Bath.[27] The 2nd Earl used Coleshill on an 'ad hoc' basis, for example, installing his sons there whilst he travelled in France.[28] However, he also allowed family members to reside at Coleshill in the longer term, as a letter written by his nephew, Edward Bouverie (dates unknown) in the early nineteenth century, reveals: "My dear Uncle … you are so kind as to offer me the Living of Coleshill … My Father tells me that you wish me to understand that you expect me to reside there, & indeed to promise to do so, so long as I keep the living."[29]

As vicar at Coleshill,[30] Edward was a highly suitable tenant for the house. It appears that the 2nd Earl wished for a degree of stability in the occupancy at Coleshill by encouraging such suitable inhabitants as Edward, and also his heir (William, later 3rd

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[25] McKellar, *Landscapes of London*, pp. 4-5, 147, 152 and J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530 to 1830*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, first published 1953 by Penguin Books Ltd, ninth edition published by Yale University Press, 1993, p. 348
[26] M. H. Port, 'West End Palaces: The Aristocratic Town House in London, 1730-1830' in *The London Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 1, May 1995, p. 37
[27] WSHC 1946/4/2A/6
[28] WSHC 1946/4/2A/6
[29] WSHC 1946/4/2B/26 Correspondence … 1806-1811
[30] WSHC 1946/4/2A/6

Earl of Radnor) to inhabit the house on more than a temporary basis. A letter of April 1814, written by the 2nd Earl to his eldest son, is revealing: "I wished you to occupy Coleshill as the most respectable situation you could have … If you occupy it, it is to be occupied as it is calculated to be occupied, that is, not as a farming House, but as a gentleman's House".[31]

The 3rd Earl was the first Bouverie *paterfamilias* to take Coleshill as his main residence. It remained his "Family Home" even after he inherited Longford, owing to his dissatisfaction with the state of the castle in the early nineteenth century, when architectural works initiated by the 2nd Earl, to be explored, had been left unfinished.[32] A detailed study of the 3rd Earl's actions and attitudes is beyond the temporal scope of this thesis, but the comparison highlights how his predecessors conversely treated Longford as their main family seat. Recognising its significance to their status as landowners, they demonstrated themselves to be good custodians of this most important of heirlooms. As this thesis will go on to argue, the concentration of fine works of art and furnishings at Longford indicates the perceived primacy of the castle over any other family property throughout the eighteenth century, whilst contemporary visitors' remarks upon its comfortableness speak to its important function as a lived-in home, as well as a symbolic family seat.[33]

Longford's Architectural Heritage

Built in the late sixteenth century by the Gorges family, courtiers to Queen Elizabeth I, to replace an earlier manor house, Longford Castle represented one of many 'new' houses constructed in that era, along with its Wiltshire neighbours Wilton House and Longleat House.[34] Scholars have variously suggested that it was influenced by

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[31] WSHC 1946/3/3/2 Correspondence 1814

[32] WSHC 1946/4/2A/6

[33] On the country house as a home, particularly for women, see J. S. Lewis, 'When a House is not a Home: Elite English Women and the Eighteenth-Century Country House' in *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 2, April 2009, pp. 336-350; and, on the term 'stately home', see P. Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997, p. 63, where he argues that it implies both "distance" and "familiarity".

[34] See R. Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1998, p. 45 and J. A. Gotch, 'Three Notable Houses' in A. Dryden (ed.) *Memorials of Old Wiltshire*, London: Bemrose & Sons Limited, 4 Snow Hill, E.C. and Derby, 1906, p. 17. On the Gorges' role as courtiers, see M.

German and Flemish design,[35] as well as Scandinavian precedents. It has been linked to Gripsholm Castle in Sweden, visited by Sir Thomas Gorges (1536-1610) in 1582,[36] and the castle of Uraniberg in Denmark, possibly known to his wife, Helena Snakenberg, Marchioness of Northampton (1548/9-1635).[37] The amalgamation of styles retains a distinctly English and local flavour in its materiality, however, with the use of alternating pieces of Chilmark stone and flint in the towers being typical of the region.[38]

In its plan, Longford also contains some elements that were conventional for English country houses of the time, such as a first-floor Long Gallery, a room that emerged in the Elizabethan era to accommodate full-length portraits,[39] and where exercise could be taken in bad weather.[40] However, Longford was built to a distinctive and unusual ground plan that was triangular in shape. It was not uncommon for Elizabethan country houses to be built as 'devices'.[41] The seven courtyards, fifty-two staircases, and 365 rooms at Knole in Kent, for example, corresponded to the days and weeks of the year.[42]

Drawings of Longford, including an elevation and a ground plan (figs. 9, 10, 11),[43] appear in a late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century volume by the builder John

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Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture: Its Rise and Fall, 1540-1640*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009, p. 12.

[35] R. Blomfield, *A Short History of Renaissance Architecture in England 1500-1800*, London: Bell, 1910, pp. 27-28 and Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, pp. 300-302

[36] Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, pp. 302, 242, 480

[37] See Gotch, 'Three Notable Houses', p. 18 and WSHC 1946/3/2C/14 History of buildings, 18th century, 1989. The viability of this link has, however, been contested by Hussey (C. Hussey, 'Longford Castle – I. Wilts. The Seat of the Earl of Radnor' in *Country Life*, 12th December 1931, Vol. 70, p. 652).

[38] Blomfield, *Short History of Renaissance Architecture*, p. 36 and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England 26: Wiltshire*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963, p. 307

[39] A. Laing, *In Trust for the Nation: Paintings from National Trust Houses*, London: The National Trust in association with National Gallery Publications, 1995, p. 17

[40] Long galleries can also be seen at the Elizabethan houses Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, and Montacute House, Somerset. On the long gallery tradition, see G. Jackson-Stops and J. Pipkin, *The English Country House: A Grand Tour*, Boston: Little, Brown and Company; Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1985, Chapter 5 and R. Coope, 'The 'Long Gallery': Its Origins, Development, Use and Decoration' in *Architectural History*, Vol. 29, 1986, pp. 43-72, 74-84.

[41] Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p. xii. On symbolic and geometric ideas in Elizabethan building, see Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, p. 72.

[42] G. Jackson-Stops, *The Country House in Perspective*, London: Pavilion, 1990, p. 20

[43] Sir John Soane's Museum Library, SM_vol101, Thorpe Album. See in particular SM_vol101/155-157 Thorpe Album, plans and partial exterior elevation, SM_vol101/158 Thorpe Album, partial elevation of the exterior of the Hall block, and SM_vol101/159 Thorpe Album, unfinished partial plan of the Hall block. There has been some scholarly debate over the extent of Thorpe and the

Thorpe (fl.1570-1610).[44] In the latter, the three circular towers are labelled respectively as representing 'Pater', 'Filius' and 'Spiritus', with each side of the triangle labelled 'est', and the centre, 'Deus', leading many to interpret Longford's design as symbolic of the Holy Trinity.[45] The Gorges' motivations in building to a triangular shape are unknown,[46] but they did also build a three-sided hunting lodge, New House at Redlynch, also in Wiltshire, although this is a Y-shaped rather than triangular.[47] Only one other Elizabethan house was built to the same triangular configuration as Longford, and that was explicitly to represent the Trinity: Rushton Lodge, Northamptonshire, in this case for the Catholic Sir Thomas Tresham (1543-1605).[48]

The appeal of any presumed Trinity symbolism to the Bouverie family, given their French Protestant ancestry, is, however, uncertain. Indeed, Sir Edward's acquisition of an Elizabethan house, rather than a more up-to-date or even a newly built country house begs analysis, given the family's ever-increasing status at the time and their need to establish themselves within fashionable contemporary society. Attitudes towards Elizabethan architecture at this time were not entirely favourable. Mark Girouard has argued that, despite interest on the part of some individuals later in the eighteenth century, Elizabethan and Jacobean houses did not attract "much enthusiasm".[49] Peter Mandler has accounted for the "desertion" of ancestral castles and manor houses during the early eighteenth century as the result of the damage

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drawings' actual links with Longford. Christopher Hussey stated in 1931 that the link was "obvious" (Hussey, 'Longford Castle – I', pp. 652-653 and C. Hussey, 'Longford Castle – II. Wilts. The Seat of the Earl of Radnor' in *Country Life*, 19th December 1931, Vol. 70, p. 700). Reginald Blomfield suggested that Thorpe was involved in the design of the ground plan and towers but not the façade (Blomfield, *Short History of Renaissance Architecture*, p. 37) and John Summerson stated of the plans of Longford and Lyveden that "neither of these can be by Thorpe" (J. Summerson, 'The Book of Architecture of John Thorpe in Sir John Soane's Museum, with biographical and analytical studies' in *The Walpole Society*, Vol. XL, Glasgow: Walpole Society, 1966, p. 31).

[44] On Thorpe's life and work, see Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, pp. 406-418 and Summerson, 'Book of Architecture of John Thorpe', pp. 1-13.

[45] See Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p. 240.

[46] For various postulations as to theories regarding the design, see WSHC 1946/3/2C/18 History of buildings [c.1980].

[47] See Historic Houses Association, 'Newhouse', http://www.hha.org.uk/Property/1069/Newhouse (accessed 26th October 2015).

[48] See Jackson-Stops, *Country House in Perspective*, p. 47; Gotch, 'Three Notable Houses', p. 17; and WSHC 1946/3/2C/14. Tresham also built Lyveden New Bield, Northamptonshire, to a symbolic plan, illustrating the Cross (see Jackson-Stops, *Country House in Perspective*, p. 47 and Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, pp. 232-237).

[49] Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p. 457 and M. Girouard, 'Attitudes to Elizabethan Architecture, 1600-1900' in J. Summerson (ed.) *Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, London: Allen Lane, 1968, pp. 15-16

inflicted upon the former during seventeenth-century "domestic strife", and the fact that the latter were not in line with the increasing sophistication of Georgian tastes.[50]

However, the castle may have exerted a draw upon Sir Edward given its roots in the late sixteenth century, as this was when his Huguenot ancestor, Laurens des Bouverie, migrated to England. Living in a house with an Elizabethan heritage could have helped to communicate and consolidate the family's sense of longevity and Englishness, which dated back to this time. Longford, which evoked an English golden age, but which was nevertheless a melange of various continental and vernacular styles, arguably acted as a vehicle through which the Bouveries could express their own complex sense of identity.

Although one must not dismiss the possibility that the purchase of the castle was motivated by individual and perhaps whimsical tastes, more than any conscious desire to express identity, it is notable that both the 1st Viscount and 1st Earl more or less retained Longford's architectural fabric in the state in which they inherited it, undertaking some improvements, but not altering its basic structure, triangular form or Elizabethan character. This suggests the family's ongoing awareness and appreciation of the message that Longford conveyed about their taste and identity.

The 1st Viscount's Plans and Works at Longford: 1730s to 1750s

The work undertaken by Longford's first Bouverie owners entailed mainly repairs and improvements to make it more comfortable and practical. Nancy Steele, who compiled research notes for the 8th Earl of Radnor's 2001 family memoir, noted that the castle had been uninhabited for almost a decade and was consequently "in a rather derelict condition" upon its acquisition in 1717 by Sir Edward.[51] A 1766 plan of the castle published in *Vitruvius Britannicus* noted that the house had been "repaired and altered" in 1718.[52] Some of these works involved stripping away signs of the castle's previous owners, the Coleraines. These elements, such as the motto

[50] Mandler, *Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, p. 7
[51] WSHC 1946/4/2A/6
[52] WSHC 1946/3/2C/5PC History of buildings [Longford Castle] 1766. Longford's inclusion within this volume will be discussed in Chapter 7.

"Status, non Situs", which had been "sett up in golden Capitalls" on the castle's exterior, were not original to the house.[53] Other alterations included the movement of the chapel from the ground floor to one of the first-floor tower rooms, and the re-appropriation of the previous chapel as the Long Parlour.[54] These changes suggest a desire to modernise the castle, and to make it a more easily habitable space. However, their limited scope may speak of financial constraints, or indeed a drive to retain the essential elements of Longford's architecture.

During the early- to mid-eighteenth century, a new two-storey Palladian entrance hall was created at Longford, but the precise date of the work is uncertain. Steele wrote that it was Sir Edward who oversaw the remodelling of the hall, and that his successor, the 1st Viscount, later undid these changes.[55] However, Tessa Murdoch has suggested that the new entrance hall was the creation of the 1st Viscount in c.1740.[56] This proposal is based on the existence of a pair of marble-topped side tables of this date, one of which has a curved back to fit one of the circular tower rooms,[57] and the other a straight back,[58] leading Murdoch to infer that the latter may have been commissioned for the Palladian entrance hall. An entry in the 1st Viscount's accounts for October 1742 linked to "stuccoe-work of ye. hall stair-cases &c, & for cielings &c" may relate to this project.[59]

From the evidence, it is difficult to conclude with any certainty the nature and timing of the inception of the work undertaken to the entrance hall, or to whom it can be attributed. It was in situ when the aforementioned plans of the ground and first floors of the building were created in 1766, however, as these show a two-storey space (figs. 12 and 13). It is significant, at least, to note the one-time existence of a two-storey hall in the Palladian style at Longford, as it suggests a desire to experiment with the accommodation of the architectural fashions of the time within

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[53] WSHC 1946/3/2C/1 History of buildings, 1678, 1694. This motto has been interpreted as a reference to the superiority of the castle's condition relative to its riverside position.
[54] WSHC 1946/3/2A/8 and WSHC 1946/4/2A/6
[55] WSHC 1946/4/2A/6
[56] T. Murdoch, 'Side Table, British, circa 1740' in C. Wilk (ed.) *Western Furniture: 1350 to the Present Day in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London*, London: Philip Wilson, 1996, p. 92
[57] To be discussed fully in Chapter 3.
[58] Now at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
[59] WSHC 1946/3/1B/1

the confines of the Elizabethan structure. The height also indicates the influence of nearby Wilton, with its famous Double Cube Room.

John Cornforth has noted the prevalence of double-height entrance halls in country house architecture from the 1720s to 1730s, but that the style lost popularity in the early 1740s.[60] He saw this trend as a response not only to sixteenth-century Italian architectural theory, but as also bound up with the traditional English notion of the 'great hall', symbolic of a family's hospitality.[61] In this light, the decision to create a new entrance hall at Longford may be seen as an attempt to unify new stylistic fashions with older country house traditions. Whoever was responsible for its inception, the project speaks of the leitmotif running through much of the Bouveries' eighteenth-century artistic patronage: the desire to reconcile fashion and tradition.

Changes more firmly attributed to the 1st Viscount include his transformation of the old Winter Parlour in the east tower, at the end of one of the lengths of the triangular castle, into a Library, to accommodate the books he was collecting. This may have been due to the precedent that existed for libraries bordering galleries or long rooms, as at Ham House, Richmond.[62] As will be discussed in Chapter 3, the 1st Viscount also engaged in improvements to several of the Longford interiors, transforming the Matted Gallery into a picture gallery, as had occurred between 1738 and 1745 in the Jacobean Gallery at Temple Newsam, Yorkshire.[63]

In 1757, some works were undertaken to the loggia on the entrance front of the castle. The accounts list payments relating to "the logio roof", and for "carving capitals".[64] Christopher Hussey described these works as "repairs", suggesting that they took the form of maintenance, but also noted that the "carved features of the

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[60] J. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004, pp. 29, 35
[61] Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, p. 23
[62] WSHC 1946/4/2A/6. See S. Jervis, 'The English Country House Library: An Architectural History' in *Library History*, Vol. 18, November 2002, p. 176.
[63] Retford, Perry and Vibert, 'Introduction', p. 15. See Historic England, 'Temple Newsam House', 1996, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1255943 (accessed 12th September 2016).
[64] WSHC 1946/3/1B/2

lower loggia … are curiously rococo in feeling",[65] implying some deviation from the original style. However, the fact that many original features of the castle's front were left – such as the Dutch gables, and relief carving of a boat[66] – hints at the 1st Viscount's fundamental desire to retain Longford's exterior in its original state.

Entries in the accounts indicate that the 1st Viscount solicited the advice of fashionable architects, but did not follow up these consultations. For example, in May 1742, he gave ten guineas to "Mr. Morris for drawing a design of ye. building at Longford".[67] Peter Willis has suggested that the architect Roger Morris (1703-1754), known for his work at Wilton, had been "called in for the house" by the 1st Viscount.[68] This implies again that he was looking to a neighbouring country house for inspiration at this early stage. However, as the drawing cannot be traced, it is uncertain whether Morris produced a design for a new amendment to the castle; a drawing of Longford in its current state; or a proposed separate new structure, such as a garden building.[69] Similarly, in November 1750, the 1st Viscount listed a payment to "Mr. Wood the Architect for coming over from Bath to Longford, (a day) when He gave his opinion only, but gave no design, as nothing was agreed on".[70] This may have been either John Wood the Elder (1704-1754) or John Wood the Younger (1728-1782), the architects who were responsible for many of the neo-Palladian buildings erected in Bath throughout the eighteenth century.[71]

These payments indicate the 1st Viscount's interest in exploring various options regarding Longford's architecture. However, what is more significant is that fact that he chose ultimately to retain Longford more or less as it was. His conservative approach, making small amendments to the castle, could reflect a desire to not be

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[65] Hussey, 'Longford Castle – I', pp. 654-655
[66] This motif is said to allude to the story that Longford's completion was financed by spoils from a Spanish galleon in the Armada, gifted by Queen Elizabeth I to Helena Snakenberg (see N. Penny with the assistance of S. Avery-Quash, *A Guide to Longford Castle*, 2012, p. 7).
[67] WSHC 1946/3/1B/1
[68] P. Willis, *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden*, London: Zwemmer, 1977, pp. 56, 58. See also H. M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects, 1660-1840*, London: J. Murray, 1954, p. 668. Henry Herbert, 9th Earl of Pembroke (1693-1749) may have suggested to the 1st Viscount that Morris "provide advice" on works at Longford (pers. comm. J. Kitching to the author, 30th August 2016).
[69] The latter possibility will be discussed further later in this chapter.
[70] WSHC 1946/3/1B/2
[71] Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, p. 341

seen to be ostentatious in his patronage, in the manner of the 'nouveau riche' who were at the time building grand new homes in the neo-Palladian style.

Some individuals who had made their money in trade chose to build anew or completely remodel an older house, empowered by their financial and social circumstances to make a decisive break with the past.[72] Christie has estimated that around one hundred and fifty houses were built in the first half of the eighteenth century, solely in England,[73] many of them in the neo-Palladian style. Meanwhile, many older houses that escaped demolition underwent significant refurbishment.[74] Richard Child, 1st Earl Tylney (1680-1750), an MP who was ennobled twice in the early eighteenth century, and whose wealth came from the East India trade, thus providing a parallel with the Bouverie family, built a grand neo-Palladian house at Wanstead, Essex, only a few miles from the City of London. This provided an architectural blueprint for much eighteenth-century country house building.[75] The "building boom" has also been contextualised within "the displays of wealth and prestige constructed by the newly powerful and newly secure Whig ruling class" following the Glorious Revolution of 1688.[76] For instance, the Whig Prime Minister, Robert Walpole, 1st Earl of Orford (1676-1745), remodelled the red-brick house he had inherited at Houghton, Norfolk, in the neo-Palladian style.[77]

The 1st Viscount's comparative conservatism might have been a contributing factor in his decision to retain Longford's traditional aesthetic. However, as shown in Chapter 1, over the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Bouverie family did not sustain strong links with any particular political party. The decision upheld by the 1st Viscount's successors not to rebuild or remodel Longford

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[72] See C. Hussey, *English Country Houses: Mid Georgian 1760-1800*, London: Antique Collectors' Club, first published by Country Life Ltd, 1955, 1988, p. 10.
[73] Christie, *British Country House*, p. 4
[74] Christie, *British Country House*, p. 61
[75] Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, pp. 297-302
[76] A. Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting: Five Centuries of Tourism and Taste*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell in association with the National Trust, 1989, p. 66. On the politics of architecture, see also Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, pp. 295, 297 and C. Hussey, *English Country Houses: Early Georgian 1715-1760*, London: Antique Collectors' Club, first published by Country Life Ltd, 1955, 1988, p. 10; and on eighteenth-century neo-Palladian architecture, see Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, chapter 20 and D. Cruickshank and P. Wyld, *London: The Art of Georgian Building*, London: The Architectural Press Ltd, 1975, Parts 1-3.
[77] T. Morel, 'Houghton Revisited: An Introduction' in T. Morel (ed.) *Houghton Revisited,* first published on the occasion of the exhibition 'Houghton Revisited: The Walpole Masterpieces from Catherine the Great's Hermitage', 2013, London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2013, p. 36

may have helped distance the family from the aesthetic propounded by the 'nouveau riche' or Whig class, and aided their self-presentation as more established and engrained members of the aristocracy.

A reconstruction of St. James's Palace, London, in the eighteenth century, using account books, shows that refurbishments undertaken there for King George I (1660-1727) focused upon the interiors, rather than the exteriors, with new items of furniture arranged alongside a picture hang inherited from Queen Anne.[78] Despite the obvious difference in their position on the social ladder, the Bouveries also concentrated their efforts upon their interiors, and shared with the Hanoverians a desire to articulate their commitment to an English identity. Both in part achieved an aesthetic sense of continuity with the English past, at a time of change, by working, both literally and figuratively, within inherited boundaries.

Cornforth has posited that between 1740 and 1760 owners appreciated the "contrast in character" that an "up-to-date London house" and an older country seat provided,[79] and which the Bouveries' properties answered. In undertaking the aforementioned small projects, the redecoration of some interiors, and – as this chapter will go on to show – the modernisation of the gardens, the 1st Viscount brought Longford up-to-date in a manner that did not override nor downplay its essential, unique character and antiquity, but which merged fashion and tradition.

The 1st Earl's Works at Longford: 1760s and 1770s

The 1st Earl similarly did not remodel Longford in line with fashionable ideals. It is important to note, however, that he maintained his property in good repair, contracting glass painters, carvers, surveyors, masons, glaziers, and a "chimney

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[78] R. Bird, 'The Setting for a New Dynasty – Furnishing St James's Palace for George I and his Court, 1714-15', paper at *Enlightened Monarchs: Art at Court in the Eighteenth Century* study day organised by The Wallace Collection, Royal Collection Trust and Centre for Court Studies, 7th May 2014; see also W. Burchard, 'Houses, Palaces and Gardens: The First Georgians and Architecture' in D. Shawe-Taylor (ed.) *The First Georgians: Art and Monarchy, 1714-1760*, London: Royal Collection Trust, 2014, p. 55 and R. Bird, 'Furniture and Interiors in the Royal Palaces 1714-1760' in Shawe-Taylor (ed.) *The First Georgians*, pp. 167, 171-175.

[79] Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, p. 191

doctor", amongst other tradesmen.[80] His family's acquisition of Coleshill through his marriage to Harriot Pleydell may have led him to believe large architectural works at Longford unnecessary, as Coleshill was at the forefront of contemporary fashion, and other projects may also have distracted him from doing so. He was engaged in the restoration of the church in nearby Britford, and the construction of a family vault there, and a number of payments appear in the Longford accounts in the 1760s and 1770s for related works.[81] Moreover, the construction of an external chapel at Longford from 1770, which was later destroyed by the 2nd Earl, occupied the 1st Earl throughout the last years of his life, and involved much expenditure.[82]

The chapel was built outside the Garden Front, constructed from Chilmark and green stone and white bricks, and linked to the castle via a covered walkway with columns and capitals.[83] In this way, it chimed with Longford's existing aesthetic, providing a harmony between new and old. Significantly, this was the second change in the Bouverie family's chapel arrangements since their acquisition of Longford. This catalogue of change could reflect dissatisfaction or a lack of resolution within Longford's original architecture regarding the placement of a chapel. The original situation of the chapel at the castle's moment of construction is unknown, as Thorpe's drawings do not label any of the proposed rooms. Annabel Ricketts noted that, although early sixteenth-century houses were built with chapels, this was not the case during the Elizabethan period, and it was not until the early seventeenth century that chapels were again incorporated into the design of new houses and added retrospectively into older properties.[84]

The 1st Viscount's use of one of the first-floor tower rooms, located at the end of the gallery, as a chapel, reflected established trends, as Tudor long galleries were often connected to domestic chapels,[85] as at Audley End House, Essex.[86] However, the 1st Earl's ambition to move the space of worship from the castle's interior, to its exterior – both in the form of the new structure linked to Longford, and in the

[80] See WSHC 1946/3/1B/3.
[81] See WSHC 1946/3/1B/2 and WSHC 1946/3/1B/3.
[82] See payments for 1770 in WSHC 1946/3/1B/3.
[83] WSHC 1946/4/2A/6
[84] A. Ricketts, *The English Country House Chapel: Building a Protestant Tradition*, ed. S. Ricketts, Reading: Spire Books, 2007, pp. 18-20
[85] Coope, 'The 'Long Gallery", pp. 60-61
[86] Coope, 'The 'Long Gallery", p. 61

construction of a new family vault at Britford, outside the estate[87] – suggests his desire to make his and his family's places of worship more public and outward-facing. Certainly, the vault promoted the family's presence and importance within the locality. Cristiano Giometti has argued that the social role of funerary monuments was to "perpetuate to posterity the memory of the family's power and wealth" and to communicate their status within the locale.[88]

As noted in Chapter 1, however, the Bouverie family did not engage in ostentatious funerary arrangements, the 1st Earl instead conveying his nobility through his wish for a simplified and intimate funeral. Matthew Craske has argued that self-made men and their heirs rarely commissioned monuments for display in rural or semi-rural communities, so as to avoid "overtly stat[ing] a claim to a long-term dynastic presence", and that only families of longstanding stature would do so.[89] The 1st Earl's construction of a family vault within a public church and his creation of a private chapel at Longford that, through its construction on the exterior of the house, was nonetheless visible to visitors and the wider estate, suggests that, by this date, he felt adequately established locally as a member of the aristocracy. The fact that the 1st Earl received the family's second eighteenth-century ennoblement in 1765 perhaps enabled him to partake in some outward-facing displays of piety and permanence. Similarly, the Huguenot Lethieullier family also created a burial vault when in their "third generation of distinction", as at this time "they felt entitled to express overtly their claim to be a permanent landed presence".[90]

It must be remembered, furthermore, that such displays were not solely bound up with the intention to display aristocratic status. These works attest to the 1st Earl's devoutness and how he considered religious observance to be an integral part of life. An anecdotal letter by the connoisseur and art collector Sir George Beaumont (1753-

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[87] On the family vault, see WSHC 1946/4/2A/10 Family vault in St. Peter's, Britford 1765-1923; WSHC 1946/4/2A/11 Plans [c.1890]; WSHC 1946/4/2A/4 Notes on family history, late 18th century-early 19th century; and WSHC 1946/4/2A/5 Genealogical notes [1718-1895].
[88] C. Giometti, 'Gentlemen of Virtue: Morality and Representation in English Eighteenth-Century Tomb Sculpture' in C. Sicca and A. Yarrington (eds.) *The Lustrous Trade: Material Culture and the History of Sculpture in England and Italy, c.1700-c.1860*, London and New York: Leicester University Press, 2000, pp. 79-80
[89] M. Craske, *The Silent Rhetoric of the Body: A History of Monumental Sculpture and Commemorative Art in England, 1720-1770*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007, p. 353
[90] Craske, *Silent Rhetoric of the Body*, p. 364

1827) about the painter Thomas Gainsborough's visit to Longford in the early 1770s conveys the 1st Earl's dedication to his religious practices:

> At the Earl of R------'s, where it was the custom to have morning prayers, [Gainsborough] was loath to attend for fear of laughing at the chaplain … Receiving a hint from his Lordship that service was performed at nine … a few days after that first announcement of the pious custom, the painter not having made his appearance at the chapel, his Lordship reminded him again, saying, 'Perhaps, Mr. Gainsborough, you geniuses having wandering memories, you may have forgotten"[91]

This episode hints at the importance the 1st Earl attached to family prayers. Having a purpose-designed chapel located next to the castle, rather than one sequestered in an existing room not originally intended to fulfil that function, may have made daily prayer more comfortable and convenient. This reinforces the idea that architectural works undertaken to the castle were not only motivated by aesthetic or symbolic reasons, but were intended to improve the living experience at Longford for a family who, as we have seen, spent much of their time in residence there.

The Bouveries' treatment of Longford's architecture in the later eighteenth century may, furthermore, have been bound up with the fact that Coleshill provided an aesthetic alternative. Coleshill was designed by the influential architect Inigo Jones (1573-1652), and built by Sir Roger Pratt (1620-1684) in c.1660. Pratt had travelled in Italy, and has been assessed as a "seminal figure in establishing what became the ruling type [of architecture]" during his lifetime.[92] With Coleshill, Jones and Pratt pioneered the 'double-pile' house type, a model that was much emulated,[93] and which, in its "monumental simplicity", differed completely from earlier "complex Jacobean houses" (fig. 14).[94]

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[91] Sir George Beaumont quoted in W. B. Boulton, *Thomas Gainsborough: His Life, Work, Friends and Sitters*, London: Methuen, 1905, pp. 286-287
[92] Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p. 457. On Coleshill, see N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England 30: Berkshire*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966, pp. 118-119.
[93] Jackson-Stops, *Country House in Perspective*, p. 56
[94] Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p. 457

Although a seventeenth-century creation, the style in which Coleshill was built underpinned the aesthetic of many eighteenth-century buildings, and left an impression upon important builders such as Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington (1694-1753), who had drawings made of its ceilings by the architect and translator of Palladio, Isaac Ware (1704-1766).[95] Additionally, Coleshill appeared in Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*.[96] The antiquarian John Britton (1771-1857) described Coleshill as "a *perfect* and unaltered specimen of the architectural taste of Inigo Jones"[97] after visiting it around the turn of the nineteenth century. The Bouverie family's inheritance of this important architectural exemplar may well have precluded any obligation on their part to subscribe to more up-to-date styles at Longford. Indeed, any attempt to transform Longford's antiquarian fabric might have produced an end result that did not live up to this precedent, the incongruity highlighted by the family's direct association with Coleshill. With an Elizabethan family seat, evoking a sense of establishment and longevity, a fashionable and well-known seventeenth-century house acting as a secondary country home, and properties in town, the family 'covered all bases'.

The 2nd Earl's Plans and Works at Longford: 1780s to 1800s

The 2nd Earl was the only one of the three collectors to engage in substantive building works at Longford. In line with his predecessors, however, he did not replace nor transform the castle in the neo-Palladian style. Instead, the changes he proposed and partially executed appear to have shown a respect for and even amplified Longford's individuality and distinctiveness. The proposed end result was a hexagonally shaped castle. The 2nd Earl's projected plans involved the destruction of one of the original Elizabethan towers, and the costly exercise of "raising the tower of Downton Church in order that it might be visible from his window at

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[95] H. Avray Tipping, 'Coleshill House. Berkshire. I' in *Country Life*, Vol. XLVI, 26th July 1919, p. 108
[96] On the remit of this publication, see J. Bassin, 'The English Landscape Garden in the Eighteenth Century: The Cultural Importance of an English Institution' in *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 1, Spring 1979, p. 16.
[97] J. Britton and E. W. Brayley, *The Beauties of England and Wales; or Delineations, Topographical, Historical, and Descriptive, of Each County, Embellished with Engravings*, 18 Vols., London, 1801, Vol. I, p. 132

Longford",[98] an undertaking that hints at a certain capricious approach to architecture, and independent spirit.

The building works at Longford were mostly paid for via a fund administered by trustees, with some smaller payments emanating from the 2nd Earl's 'Private Account'.[99] The trust fund notably contained money "provided by Lady Folkestones Marriage Settlement".[100] Rosemary Baird has noted how aristocratic wives often brought money as well as social status to a marriage, thus enabling patronage and the purchase of a range of items for the home.[101] The 2nd Earl was clearly aware of the financial benefits of marriage, as is evident in a letter he wrote to his eldest son in 1799. He stated, "it is absolutely necessary, that your Marriage should bring an Accession of Wealth … what would have been now the Case, if our Ancestors had been inattentive to this Point?"[102] The funding of the architectural works at Longford contributes to the understanding that, over successive generations, the women who married into the Bouverie family facilitated the expansion and regeneration of its property.

During the 1790s, the alterations at Longford were presided over by the architect James Wyatt (1746-1813), who produced an architectural model of the proposed hexagonal castle (fig. 15), alongside plans and drawings showing the proposed room layouts.[103] The 2nd Earl may have employed Wyatt given their existing connection, as the latter had been responsible for works recently undertaken at Salisbury Cathedral, to which the 2nd Earl had donated money.[104] He was presumably also aware of the architect's work at other country houses. For example, Wyatt had constructed some offices at Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, for Horace Walpole, 4th Earl of Orford

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[98] WSHC 1946/3/2A/8
[99] See WSHC 1946/3/2E/5 Summaries of bills 1792-1811 and WSHC 1946/4/2A/7 The Bouveries 1988.
[100] See, for example, bill for 1802 in WSHC 1946/3/2E/5.
[101] R. Baird, *Mistress of the House: Great Ladies and Grand Houses 1670-1830*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson: London, 2003, p. 13
[102] WSHC 1946/4/2B/1 Volume of family history documents 1623-1834
[103] WSHC 1946/4/2A/6
[104] The alterations precipitated a "debate about conservation principles", with various contemporary commentators such as Richard Gough (1735-1809), President of the Society of Antiquaries, deriding the changes (see J. Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999, p. 106 and T. Friedman, *The Eighteenth-Century Church in Britain*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011, pp. 285-286).

(1717-1797) in 1790, and had been employed by William Windham (1750-1810) at Felbrigg Hall, Norfolk.[105]

The existence of an architectural model is revealing as, in the late eighteenth century, the creation of such models was not common amongst architects. Sir John Soane (1753-1837) pioneered the practice, but few others engaged in it.[106] The Longford model is comparatively plain, and does not open to depict the proposed interior. It thus contrasts, for example, with a model made by John Marsden (fl.1735) for Queen Caroline (1683-1737) of a proposed new palace at Richmond, Surrey, the detailed interiors of which suggest its maker's consideration of the ways in which its (female) patron would live within the space.[107]

The lack of interior detail implies that, from the beginning, the main impetus behind the architectural works was to make a bold exterior statement and to remodel the overall form and structure of the castle. Wyatt is said to have "suppress[ed] purely ornamental detail and concentrate[ed] on the effect of large masses" in his designs.[108] The simplicity could also reflect the fact that it was produced relatively early in the process. Wyatt abandoned the Longford project to go and undertake work at Fonthill Abbey, Wiltshire, in 1796, leaving the architect Daniel Alexander (1768-1846) to take over at Longford in 1802; his plans, however, remained true to Wyatt's designs (fig. 16).[109] Had he not left the project, he might have been commissioned to produce a more advanced model to follow up this preliminary prototype.

Alexander's ability to bring the works at Longford to completion was impeded by the fact that the 2nd Earl ran out of money in 1817.[110] A letter written to his eldest

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[105] Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of English Architects*, pp. 727-731. On Wyatt, see also Jackson-Stops, *Country House in Perspective*, p. 108. It has been noted that, in the latter case, Wyatt "did little except exasperate his client" (Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of English Architects*, p. 729).
[106] H. Conway and R. Roenisch, *Understanding Architecture: An Introduction to Architecture and Architectural History*, London and New York: Routledge, 2005, p. 104
[107] See J. Marschner, *Queen Caroline: Cultural Politics at the Early Eighteenth-Century Court*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014, pp. 64-65 and J. Marschner, 'Becoming British: Queen Caroline and Collecting', paper at *Enlightened Monarchs* study day.
[108] Jackson-Stops, *Country House in Perspective*, p. 108
[109] WSHC 1946/4/2A/6 and WSHC 1946/3/2C/12 Article on history of Longford Castle [including letter by John Cornforth] 1967-68
[110] WSHC 1946/4/2A/6. For accounts of the expenses involved and for itemised payments to tradesmen involved, see WSHC 1946/3/2E/5; WSHC 1946/3/2E/20 Bills and accounts 1809-1812;

son in 1799 demonstrates that the 2nd Earl was aware of the costs and criticisms of the endeavour, but also showcases the ambitions behind it:

> There are great Expenses … which possibly it may be suggested to you that I have done wrong, (and if you listen to the suggestion, I certainly have done wrong) to render necessary; I mean the Building at Longford; But to this Point I leave my Answer in one Word; I have done this, & every Thing else, which I have done respecting my Family Possessions with the View, & the Intention of extending, and improving them for our permanent Benefit, Consequence, & Credit[111]

Although it was left to succeeding generations to finish this development of Longford, part of the motivation behind the 2nd Earl's building works, therefore, was to improve the family's property for the future. The plans are still worth consideration, as they demonstrate the 2nd Earl's at least theoretical ambitions for Longford.

Within the antiquarian climate of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which looked upon Elizabethan architecture more favourably,[112] it might seem unexpected to find a proposal that the house be stripped of its original defining feature: its triangular shape. For instance, antiquarians had remarked approvingly upon Longford's unusual design,[113] and Soane had acquired Thorpe's volume of drawings.[114] However, although the castle's triangular shape had been integral to its identity, in planning a hexagonal structure, the 2nd Earl arguably did not detract from the castle's individuality, but instead made changes in keeping with its unusual geometric character.

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and WSHC 1946/3/2E/26 Bills and accounts 1813-17. For an estimate for work by Alexander, see WSHC 1946/3/2E/6 Specification 1797.

111 WSHC 1946/4/2B/1

112 See Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p. 457 and Girouard, 'Attitudes to Elizabethan Architecture', p. 18.

113 For example, in J. Britton, *The Beauties of England and Wales; or Original Delineations, Topographical, Historical, and Descriptive, of Each County, Embellished with Engravings*, 18 Vols., London, 1814, Vol. XV, pp. 388-389. More visitor responses to the castle will be explored in Chapter 7.

114 On the provenance of the book, see Summerson, 'Book of Architecture of John Thorpe', pp. 14-17.

The idea that Longford's uniqueness was to be celebrated in this project is further corroborated by the fact that the 2nd Earl looked abroad for inspiration, much as Longford's original builders had done. For example, plans of various continental castles, including one composed of two triangular shapes, are stored amongst the designs for the project.[115] Moreover, the alterations appear to have been designed to retain the original aesthetic of the building's fabric. A specification for the works dating to 1797 contains a note decreeing the "Towers to be like the present Garden Front – 2 Stone, & Flint".[116] An "Elevation of the complete round of one of the Circular Towers supposing it open'd out into a flat surface" shows the proposed exterior colours and materials, which remain in keeping with Longford's vernacular aesthetic of stone and flint (fig. 17).[117]

The historicising tendency within these architectural plans is counterbalanced, however, by plans to bring Longford up-to-date in certain regards. For instance, plans of 1802 (fig. 18) show how the round towers at either end of the Picture Gallery were to be incorporated into the space. They are each labelled "Upper part of the ends of the Gallery"; thereby demonstrating an increase in the space available for the display of works of art.[118] In this connection, Britton noted how the art collection, "which is now disposed in different rooms", was to be consolidated in one of the sides of the proposed hexagon.[119]

Moreover, the 2nd Earl made a design for the interior of one of the round towers, which provided detailed instructions regarding the placement of pictures. He wrote: "My Idea is, that the Room should have 16 sides, viz 4 large ones, 1 the Chimney with a Picture, 1 the Side Board, & 2 the Doors - & 12 small ones, 4 containing the Windows, & 8 Pictures".[120] These drawings attest to the idea that one of the intentions behind the alterations was to better accommodate the art collection at Longford. Many eighteenth-century country house building projects, such as at Ickworth, Suffolk, Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire and Holkham Hall, Norfolk, were

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115 WSHC 1946/3/2E/2 Designs for building work at Longford Castle 1790s-1800s
116 WSHC 1946/3/2E/6
117 WSHC 1946/3/2E/14 Plans [c.1802], 1812
118 WSHC 1946/3/2E/11 Plans 1802
119 Britton, *Beauties of England and Wales*, Vol. XV, pp. 389-390
120 WSHC 1946/3/2E/2

conceived with the express aim of housing a notable art collection.[121] However, at Longford, the 2nd Earl's plans simultaneously pursued new ideals regarding the display of art *and* augmented the castle's individual, antiquarian identity.

Intriguingly, the aforementioned plan of the first floor, made in 1802, also labels the space to the right of the Picture Gallery with the words "Lumber Room the sides of which are sloped so as to admit … the Windows in the Ceiling over the Picture Gallery" (fig. 19). The idea of employing light from above to illuminate the pictures evokes the architectural idea of top lighting. Part of a longstanding tradition dating back to Renaissance artists' studios, and with precedents in religious architecture, top lighting became particularly prevalent in the early nineteenth century in urban public art museums, due to the need to light a number of galleries situated in a compact space.[122] It could be found in auction rooms and the public exhibition spaces of the Royal Academy at Somerset House, London,[123] as well as in the gallery spaces of private London town houses. For example, the Gallery at Grosvenor House was refurbished in 1819 with top lighting, and the introduction of a skylight into the Picture Gallery was mooted at Cleveland House.[124]

Top lighting could be seen in certain country houses of the time. Designs made in the 1740s for the Picture Gallery at Houghton Hall show a particularly early adoption of the form within a country house context.[125] Top lighting was later to be found at Corsham Court, where it was introduced by Wyatt, and at Attingham Park, Shropshire, thanks to John Nash (1752-1835),[126] but it is important to stress that the proposed introduction of top lighting into a country house picture gallery around the turn of the nineteenth century would have brought Longford to the vanguard in terms of the practical realisation of architectural theories regarding the display of art. Although unrealised and only tentative, these plans indicate that the alterations were

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121 See Jackson-Stops, *Country House in Perspective*, pp. 95-105, 124 and K. Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006, p. 168.
122 M. Compton, 'The Architecture of Daylight' in G. Waterfield (ed.) *Palaces of Art: Art Galleries in Britain 1790-1990*, London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 1991, p. 39
123 F. Russell, 'The Hanging and Display of Pictures, 1700-1850' in G. Jackson-Stops, *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House*, Washington DC: National Gallery of Art, 1989, p. 146
124 Brooke, 'Private Art Collections and London Town Houses', pp. 64, 80
125 Morel, 'Houghton Revisited: An Introduction', pp. 38-39
126 Russell, 'Hanging and Display of Pictures', p. 146

in part motivated by a desire to improve the viewing conditions for the by then well-established art collection.

The 2nd Earl's plans also reveal a desire to solve the recurring issue of the location of the family's private chapel. During the works, the chapel built by the 1st Earl was destroyed, and its intended replacement was located in the middle of the hexagon, in a proposed new tower connected to the rest of the building (fig. 20). The destruction of the previous exterior chapel may have been necessitated by the fact that it would have disrupted the new hexagonal ground plan. Locating the site of religious observance at the heart of the castle could also attest to the 2nd Earl's piety, and, moreover, could well have been seen as fitting as it nods to Thorpe's original drawings, which labelled the core of the triangle as 'Deus'. Perhaps, given the 2nd Earl's antiquarianism, and his interest in curiosities and symbolism – a topic to be explored later in this thesis in relation to his art collecting practices – he wished to gesture to the castle's origins, whilst resolving once and for all the issue of where to locate the chapel.

At this time, Coleshill's architecture continued to be held up as an archetype, which may explain why the 2nd Earl's architectural efforts were concentrated at Longford. Alexander wrote to the 2nd Earl in 1815, informing him of how Soane had recommended Coleshill "in all its parts … to the notice of the young Students from its great simplicity of Plan … and from the stile in which the parts are composed".[127] Soane commended the fact that Coleshill was "almost the only specimen by Inigo Jones which exists in its original state – and to the eternal honour of its successive possessors, remains unaltered".[128] The 2nd Earl's imperative to build was instead played out at Longford, and may be attributed to a wish to 'stamp his own mark' upon the castle, to improve his family's property, and to create his own architectural legacy, even if it was one ultimately perceived negatively by his successors. As Shearer West has argued, "frequent architectural and decorative change in country houses was part of the owner's bid for power."[129] The castle was left unfinished for a

[127] WSHC 1946/3/2E/25 Correspondence 1813-15
[128] WSHC 1946/3/2E/25
[129] S. West, 'Framing Hegemony: Economics, Luxury and Family Continuity in the Country House Portrait' in P. Duro (ed.) *The Rhetoric of the Frame: Essays on the Boundaries of the Artwork*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 77

number of years, and the 3rd Earl, "depressed by the extent and cost of the task" of completing it, moved to Coleshill.[130] Longford was eventually completed to a different design by the architect Anthony Salvin in the 1870s.[131]

Grounds and Gardens

Grounds

A drive to improve the family's property for the benefit of posterity can also be seen in the 1st Viscount and 1st and 2nd Earls' treatment of Longford's immediate surroundings. One of the most significant ways in which this ambition was realised was through the planting of trees on the estate.[132] For example, in 1753 alone, the 1st Viscount made payments for three thousand seedling beeches, "garden seeds & Trees for planting" and "Planes & Chestnut trees".[133] A few years later, a visitor to Longford remarked that the trees were "thinly planted, and not affording any shelter from the sun",[134] providing a reminder of the trees' infancy that underscores the notion that such planting schemes were not about immediate gratification, for either the family or those who visited Longford. Rather, this was a long-term investment, for the benefit of future generations, who would experience the trees in maturity, and it thus attests to the 1st Viscount's concern with establishing his family dynasty at Longford. As Tom Williamson has noted, there is a connection "between the longevity of particular woods and plantations, and the continuity of a certain family in a place", with "the stability and security of great landed families" represented by trees.[135]

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[130] Penny with the assistance of Avery-Quash, *Guide to Longford Castle*, p. 35. For plans made after the 2nd Earl's death, see WSHC 1946/3/2E/28 Plans 1828 and WSHC 1946/3/2E/32 Plans 1831-32.
[131] For a summary of the architectural schemes proposed and executed later in the nineteenth century, see WSHC 1946/3/2C/12 and WSHC 1946/3/2C/18.
[132] Parts of this discussion have been published in Smith, 'Lord Folkestone and the Society of Arts', p. 20.
[133] WSHC 1946/3/1B/2. On the significance of different types of trees as explicated in eighteenth-century gardening manuals, see J. James, *The Theory and Practice of Gardening*, a Reprint of the 1712 Edition, [S.I.]: Gregg International Publishers, 1969 pp. 140-142.
[134] J. Hanway, *A Journal of Eight Days Journey from Portsmouth to Kingston upon Thames … in a series of sixty-four letters: addressed to two ladies of the partie. To which is added, An essay on tea …*, London: H. Woodfall, 1756, p. 46
[135] T. Williamson, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth-Century England*, Stroud: Sutton, 1995, pp. 127-128. On this, see also S. Daniels, 'The Political Iconography of Woodland in Later

Aristocratic tree planting, therefore, was a symbolic exercise. Nigel Everett has noted that "the scale of property" could be defined through the careful placing of clumps of trees.[136] This activity was about demarcating one's territory, and confirming one's role as landowner. It was also linked to country pursuits, such as pheasant shooting, since pheasants prefer living under tree cover and around the margins of woodland.[137] In planting trees at Longford, the Bouverie family literally and symbolically laid their roots at their new family seat, expressing and consolidating their newly gained aristocratic status and securing it into the future.

Tree planting at Longford during the 1750s could have been linked to an initiative that took place within the Society of Arts, whereby Premiums were presented to landowners who planted trees on their estates for the long-term benefits of the nation.[138] These were honorary rewards, given to reflect the importance of such activities in patriotically rebalancing the country's declining supplies of wood for use in industry and in warfare.[139] Although the 1st Viscount's personal connection to this initiative is unknown, his close involvement in the Society's beginnings surely meant that he was aware of and presumably sympathised with the need to plant trees. Moreover, he may also have been influenced by the patriotic ambition that was behind the Society's project, given the fact that, within the past twenty years, he had Anglicised his family name, and been ennobled into the English aristocracy.

The 1st and 2nd Earls also continued the tradition of planting trees at Longford, influenced by the work of the Society of Arts and the Royal Society.[140] In the 1780s, the 2nd Earl recorded how his eldest two children had planted horse chestnuts, acorns and beeches at Longford.[141] Involving his children, and particularly his heir in this endeavour underscores the way in which tree planting was bound up with the

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Georgian England' in D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels (eds.) *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp. 43-53.

136 N. Everett, *The Tory View of Landscape*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994, p. 106

137 Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, p. 134

138 Royal Society of Arts, 'Tree Planting Premiums', Information Sheet

139 RSA, 'Tree Planting Premiums' and Royal Society of Arts, *Transactions of the Society during the Session 1832-33*, Vol. 49, Part 2, 1833, p. 3

140 WSHC 1946/4/2A/6

141 WSHC 1946/3/2G/2 Alterations to the garden and grounds [c.1760]-1814

continuation of family dynasty. The 3rd Earl was later to receive a letter from William Cobbett (1763-1835), offering him or his father, either for Coleshill or Longford, oak, chestnut, walnut, hickory, beech and ash seedlings,[142] and in 1814, "a famous year for Acorns", the 2nd Earl wrote to his gardener regarding planting "within the Woods, plantations, & Clumps in the Neighbourhood of Longford", as well as the "thining" of a clump.[143] This demonstrates the way in which the management of trees on the estate was also a matter of maintenance and upkeep.

Gardens

The 1st Viscount's early tree planting schemes may also have been precipitated by the involvement of the designer and Royal Gardener Charles Bridgeman (1690-1738) in the redesigning of the Longford gardens. Willis has suggested that Bridgeman's work often involved tree planting.[144] Although little archival evidence remains concerning this gardener's undertakings at Longford, a letter of 1737 written by the 1st Viscount to his brother-in-law gives an insight into the changes made:

> I have been a good deal at a loss for want of Bridgemans Company; however I have not been idle, what I have ordered as to Pollards &c & here & there a tree absolutely necessary to come down, will take up three or four men I am informed as many months: I have been making interest with my Neighbours & have let severall pretty views into my Garden, & the bushes on the other side ye. river are cut down which makes the Gardens exceedingly pleasant & ye. river look half as broad again[145]

Bridgeman, who also worked at Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire; Stowe, Buckinghamshire; Claremont, Surrey; Rousham House, Oxfordshire; and Wimpole Hall, Cambridgeshire, was particularly interested in working on a large scale, and

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142 WSHC 1946/4/2B/30 Correspondence 1807-1853
143 WSHC 1946/3/2G/2
144 Willis, *Charles Bridgeman*, p. 129
145 WSHC 1946/4/2B/1. Bridgeman's absence may have been owing to the fact that his "clients often took day-to-day responsibility" for work (Willis, *Charles Bridgeman*, p. 128) or because, during the 1730s, he was less active due to bad health (D. Stroud, *Capability Brown*, with an introduction by C. Hussey, London: Faber and Faber, new edition, 1975, p. 44).

opening up views and vistas within country house grounds, for instance through the use of 'ha-has'.[146] Contemporary gardening manuals also promoted such principles. Batty Langley's (1696-1751) 1728 *New Principles of Gardening* decreed "that Views in Gardens be as extensive as possible", for example.[147] Fashion also endorsed the enlargement of rivers and lakes, as at Boughton, Northamptonshire and Claremont in the early eighteenth century.[148] The 1st Viscount's note that the Avon appeared "half as broad again" implies an awareness of and desire to conform to this trend.

Again, it appears that the Bouveries turned to their neighbours at Wilton for inspiration during this period, as a payment in the accounts to "Ld. Pembroke's Gardener for coming over hither abt. my Garden" in 1741 suggests.[149] The identity of this gardener is unknown, but the episode may relate to the aforementioned drawing made at Longford by the architect Morris, given that Morris had built a new Palladian bridge in the garden at Wilton.[150] Although the evidence does not enable a concrete conclusion to be arrived at, this raises the possibility that Morris's drawing may have related to a garden structure. The pursuit of contemporary trends in garden design, in any case, can be contrasted with the 1st Viscount's inclination towards retaining the Elizabethan appearance and fabric of the castle; many of the garden features that had previously been in place since the seventeenth century were swept away by the Bouverie family.

The topographical artist Robert Thacker (dates unknown) produced eleven drawings of the castle's exterior and its grounds in the late seventeenth century,[151] which provide an insight into the gardens' appearance at that time. They show a moat, stew pond, and formal gardens surrounding the castle, restored following damage inflicted during the Civil War (figs. 21, 22, 23).[152] John Harris has suggested that Thacker may

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146 R. Turner, *Capability Brown and the Eighteenth-Century English Landscape*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985, pp. 38-39
147 B. Langley, *New Principles of Gardening, or the laying out and planting Parterres … with … directions for raising fruit-trees, etc.*, London: A. Bettesworth and J. Battey, 1728, p. 195
148 C. Currie, 'Fishponds as Garden Features, c.1550-1750' in *Garden History*, Vol. 18, No. 1, Spring 1990, p. 28 and Turner, *Capability Brown*, p. 42
149 WSHC 1946/3/1B/1
150 Pers. comm. J. Kitching to the author, 30th August 2016
151 J. Harris, *The Artist and the Country House: A History of Country House and Garden View Painting in Britain 1540-1870*, London: Sotheby Parke Bernet Publications, 1979, p. 89
152 Historic England, 'Longford Castle', 2003, https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000424 (accessed 29th June 2016)

have been local to Salisbury, as he also produced images of Salisbury Cathedral and Longleat House.[153] The drawings could well have been commissioned directly by Longford's owners at the time, the Coleraine family. In 1678, a manuscript 'History of Longford' was written by the Reverend H. Pelate (dates unknown), chaplain to the Coleraines. Within his dedication, the author declared that he hoped "my designe will bee answerd & comended by the Care & art of the Ingraver & Delineator" with the name "Mr Thacker" appearing alongside others in the margin.[154] This suggests that the two projects were undertaken to provide a comprehensive visual and written record of Longford at this time.

Within this written history, it was recounted that Longford's owner had "rebuilt most of the garden walls"; "new modelled … Parterre"; and "with greate Cost first chalkd & then gravelled the walks", in order to improve Longford for the future: "as the profit thereof will advance to the next age by his Lordshipps indefatigable care".[155] However, the Bouveries did not long maintain these works, instead pursuing a simplified and more informal aesthetic at Longford. Britton was to recount in 1814 how "fish ponds, parterres, clipt hedges, terraces", as well as a moat and drawbridges, were no longer in existence.[156] Roger Turner has noted how orderly seventeenth-century English gardens gave way in tandem with "the growth of 'natural philosophy'" to a new interest and confidence in nature.[157] This change in fashion had particular repercussions for the treatment of water features. Many ponds were "naturalised" in the later eighteenth century, in line with the rise in informality, but also probably due to practical factors. Horace Walpole, for instance, when accounting for the "decline in popularity of formal gardens", alluded to the cost of "maintaining elaborate water-works".[158] The new focus on the River Avon realised by the 1st Viscount's work at Longford, and the sweeping away of formal ponds and the moat, indicates that the 1st Viscount was bringing the Longford gardens up-to-date, in line with the contemporary fashion for informality.

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[153] Harris, *Artist and the Country House*, pp. 99, 104
[154] WSHC 1946/3/2C/1
[155] WSHC 1946/3/2C/11 History of buildings 1889
[156] Britton, *Beauties of England and Wales*, Vol. XV, p. 389
[157] Turner, *Capability Brown*, p. 37. On the trajectory of eighteenth-century taste in gardens, see Turner, *Capability Brown*, pp. 29-36, and Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, p. 2-3.
[158] Currie, 'Fishponds as Garden Features', pp. 29-30

Gardens left untouched during the eighteenth century "were regarded with interest as 'relicks of these sorts antiquities'",[159] and older gardening styles could attract derision. For example, the anonymous poem *The Rise and Progress of the Present Taste in Planting Parks, Pleasure Grounds, Gardens, Etc* described: "The false magnificence of Tudor's day" and "Trees clipt to statues, monsters, cats and dogs, And hollies metamorphos'd into hogs" at Nonsuch Palace, Surrey.[160] It can appear contradictory, given the Bouverie family's apparent regard for the castle's heritage, that they did not apply the same conservative approach to the gardens. However, the Bouveries' reworking of the Longford gardens may have been motivated, like some of their early works to the castle's exterior, by a desire to sweep away signs of the prior owners, the Coleraines, as the gardens were, after all, late seventeenth-century restorations, rather than sixteenth-century originals.

Moreover, newer garden styles were also adopted during the eighteenth century at other Elizabethan houses, such as Temple Newsam and Burghley House, Lincolnshire, where the notable garden designer Lancelot 'Capability' Brown (1716-1783) remodelled the landscapes against sixteenth-century architectural backdrops.[161] Finally, in sweeping away formalities and details within the Longford gardens, the family arguably demonstrated and deepened their commitment to the castle's unique heritage, by exposing its fabric, and enabling its unique design to be better seen.[162] At Burghley, Brown proposed remodelling parts of the house, in order that the landscape garden could be better appreciated.[163] At Longford, conversely, perhaps the garden was remodelled so as to allow a better appreciation of the building.

The 1st Viscount further adhered to contemporary trends by ornamenting the garden in the 1740s with stone vases from Bath, a summerhouse, an obelisk and a balustrade created by William Privett of Chilmark (dates unknown), who also worked

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[159] E. Moir, 'Georgian Visits to Landscape Gardens' in *Country Life*, 7th January 1960, Vol. 127, p. 6
[160] Anonymous, *The Rise and Progress of the Present Taste in Planting Parks, Pleasure Grounds, Gardens, Etc*, a facsimile with an introduction by J. Harris, Newcastle upon Tyne: Oriel Press, 1970, pp. 7-8
[161] Retford, Perry and Vibert, 'Introduction', p. 15. On Brown's work at Burghley, see Turner, *Capability Brown*, pp. 110-112.
[162] With thanks to John Goodall for this suggestion.
[163] Turner, *Capability Brown*, p. 110

at Stourhead, Wiltshire.[164] He also adorned the pleasure garden with lead statues of *Flora* and *Anna Augusta*,[165] in line with the fashion for decorating the landscape garden with classical temples and sculptures.[166] The 1st Earl continued this initiative by adding an inscription to the statue of *Flora* in the 1760s,[167] and acquiring the statue of *Fame* by John Michael Rysbrack discussed in Chapter 1, which was once resident beneath the cupola that now houses *Flora*.[168] A sketch plan made of Longford and its grounds "as it was between the years 1760 & 1770" demonstrates the fundamental simplicity and openness of the gardens at this moment (fig. 24).[169] It shows water meadows, gravel walks in the place of the old formal garden, and various arrangements of shrubs and plants. The lack of detail suggests that the sketch plan was made quickly, only recording the main features of the garden, but it is significant that, if these were the primary items of note, the space was relatively empty and informal in design.

The 2nd Earl further advanced the garden's informality by making the Flower Garden "more picturesque"[170] and paring back the formal pleasure gardens laid out by the 1st Viscount.[171] Capability Brown made two visits to Longford in 1777,[172] shortly after the 2nd Earl's accession to the title, further evincing the family's interest in naturalistic landscape design. It has been noted that Brown "would make fleeting visits to a nobleman's country seat and stir the enthusiasm of the owner who was already afraid that he was falling behind in taste",[173] but no evidence exists to suggest that Brown was actually contracted to undertake any works at the castle. Arguably, 2nd Earl was keen to consult this fashionable designer at the beginning of his tenure

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164 See Anonymous, 'Country Homes and Gardens Old & New: Longford Castle, Wiltshire, the Seat of the Earl of Radnor' in *Country Life*, Vol. 4, No. 84, 13th August 1898, pp. 176-179 and Historic England, 'Longford Castle'.
165 WSHC 1946/4/2A/6
166 Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, pp. 37-39. For example, in the mid-1730s, terms, urns and a pavilion containing busts and pedestals were incorporated into the garden at Carlton House for Frederick, Prince of Wales (see D. Coombs, 'The Garden at Carlton House of Frederick Prince of Wales and Augusta Princess Dowager of Wales' in *Garden History*, Vol. 25, No. 2, Winter 1997, p. 159).
167 WSHC 1946/4/2K/12 Copy of statue inscription & Radnor toast … 1767
168 C. Hussey, 'An Historic English Garden: Parterres at Longford Castle, Wiltshire' in *Country Life*, 10th September 1964, Vol. 136, p. 610
169 WSHC 1946/3/2G/2
170 WSHC 1946/4/2A/6
171 Historic England, 'Longford Castle'
172 Turner, *Capability Brown*, p. 180 and Stroud, *Capability Brown*, p. 233
173 D. Jacques, 'Lancelot Brown: the Professional Man' in *Landscape Design*, No. 121, February 1978, p. 27

at Longford, but did not wish to rush into making any great changes, or, perhaps, at least, not before he had carried out his planned architectural works to the castle.

Stephen Bending has noted how garden histories tend to focus upon the "greats", ignoring the "depths by which [the English landscape garden] penetrated eighteenth-century culture", in favour of addressing only those individuals at the forefront of design.[174] Although the changes made to Longford's grounds and gardens during the eighteenth century were not pioneering, they are nonetheless significant because they represent the family's adherence to contemporary taste and desire to consult the best gardeners of the day, and, when assessed in conjunction with their treatment of Longford's architecture, demonstrate how the Bouverie family were interested in a range of ideas, and did not resolutely follow one course or another. The complex picture that emerges also reinforces the need to remember that the three individuals under scrutiny in this thesis operated in different contexts, and had their own interests and predilections.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the three Bouveries discussed in this thesis considered Longford to be their primary home, and that they respected and even enhanced its antiquity by means of improvements and works to the castle's fabric and its environs. It is also significant that some proposed works were left unexecuted. The treatment of the castle and its grounds indicates a long-term vision on the part of its owners: a desire to appear engrained and established at their country seat, as well as an awareness of contemporary fashions.

Although large building projects might command the most attention for the insights they appear to give into the family's architectural ambitions, smaller and more mundane works also demonstrate the importance the Bouveries attached to their homes. Payments in the accounts to carpenters, masons, plasterers and other craftsmen for works done at Longford throughout the period show piecemeal

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[174] S. Bending, *Green Retreats: Women, Gardens and Eighteenth-Century Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, p. 15

improvements made over time.[175] Similarly, household bills and vouchers for Coleshill demonstrate how ironmongers, blacksmiths, masons, carpenters, carvers, painters and glaziers were contracted for constant maintenance works to both the house's interior and exterior during the period 1777 to 1801.[176] These types of works, as well as a report commissioned by the 2nd Earl on the "General State of Repair" at Coleshill in 1814,[177] attest to the family's ongoing desire to leave a solid and well-preserved architectural legacy to their successors. They speak of the way in which the Bouverie family considered Longford and Coleshill as heirlooms, to be cared for, maintained, and passed on to future generations by their successive custodians, and testify – like the contents of the owners' wills – to how the family wished to consolidate and secure their family seats for the future.

[175] See WSHC 1946/3/1B/1; WSHC 1946/3/1B/2; and WSHC 1946/3/1B/3.
[176] Berkshire Record Office D/EPb/A7 Household bills and vouchers [for Coleshill House] … 1777-1801
[177] WSHC 1946/3/3/3 Correspondence 1814-1815

Chapter 3: Interiors and Furnishings

This chapter addresses the way in which key interior spaces at Longford Castle were decorated and furnished during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In 1771, it was noted in the publication *Vitrivius Britannicus* that Longford was "elegantly fitted up and furnished", and that "the many and great alterations it has undergone, have hardly left any other traces of the original, than its singular form."[1] However, this chapter not only investigates interior decoration programmes and the patronage of furnishers, but also the retention of certain elements of the castle's interior fabric. It thus explores how the Bouverie family, and, in particular, the 1st Viscount Folkestone, did much to bring the castle's interiors up-to-date and in line with contemporary fashions, whilst also respecting the existing architectural structure and style of the castle. As this thesis shows, this Janus-like attitude was also evident in their treatment of the castle's exterior, and in their attitude to the collecting and display of art.

In terms of changes made, this chapter chooses as its main focal points the Round Parlour, Gallery, and Green Velvet Drawing Room, because these rooms were substantively refurbished in the eighteenth century and are the most significant at Longford in terms of their interiors and decorative contents.[2] The refurbishments do not appear to have been guided by an overall contractor, but rather by the family themselves, using particular individuals for particular aspects of the furnishings or fittings.[3] Stylistic accounts of the furnishings and decoration of these and other rooms at Longford have already been provided by furniture historians, such as within a series of articles produced in the 1930s for *Country Life* by Christopher

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[1] J. Woolfe and J. Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus, or the British Architect; containing Plans, Elevations and Sections; of the Regular Buildings both Public and Private in Great Britain, comprised in one hundred folio plates, engrav'd by the best hands; taken from the buildings, or original designs*, 5 Vols., 1771, Vol. V, p. 10

[2] For the contents of all rooms at the end of the period under scrutiny here, see Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre (hereafter WSHC) 1946/3/2A/32 Inventory and valuation [of Longford Castle on the death of Jacob, 2nd Earl of Radnor] 1828.

[3] Due to the existence of a portrait made in 1742 by William Hogarth (1697-1764) of the architect Theodore Jacobsen (d.1772) holding a plan of a triangular house (Oberlin College), it has been suggested that he was employed to remodel the Longford interiors. However, this proposition has been dismissed, as the house is no longer identified as Longford, and Jacobsen does not appear in the Longford accounts (see H. M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects, 1660-1840*, London: J. Murray, 1954, p. 534).

Hussey.[4] This chapter aims to build upon these accounts to analyse key aspects of these rooms within the contexts of the family's social ascent, and the castle's architecture.

It is significant, for instance, that much of the eighteenth-century interior decoration at Longford was achieved under the direction of the 1st Viscount in the 1730s and 1740s, shortly after he inherited the castle, and concurrently with his ennoblement. Amanda Vickery has observed that, in an eighteenth-century middling context, household furnishings were often acquired upon marriage, as couples embarked on the process of setting up a new home together.[5] Objects took on meaning at this moment of acquisition: meaning that was both personal to the owners and a public proclamation of their new situation.[6] Inheritance was another moment of social transition that usually, at least for the landed classes, involved the adoption of new surroundings. Therefore, the 1st Viscount may have wished to visually express his new identity – in this case as a landowner – through the Longford interiors.

Although this chapter addresses important additions made by his two successors, the 1st and 2nd Earls of Radnor, it is significant that, later in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the interiors under discussion were more or less retained in the state in which the 1st Viscount left them. As this chapter shows, the high cost of the renovations and the fact that the best furnishers and artists were contracted suggests that the family intended, pragmatically, to substantively redecorate the castle with a view to the scheme being maintained for at least a few generations to come.

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[4] See C. Hussey, 'Longford Castle – I. Wilts. The Seat of the Earl of Radnor' in *Country Life*, Vol. 70, 12th December 1931, pp. 648-655; C. Hussey, 'For the Connoisseur: Furniture at Longford Castle – I' in *Country Life*, Vol. 70, 12th December 1931, pp. 679-682; C. Hussey, 'Longford Castle – II. Wilts. The Seat of the Earl of Radnor' in *Country Life*, Vol. 70, 19th December 1931, pp. 696-702; C. Hussey, 'Drawing-Room Furniture at Longford Castle' in *Country Life*, Vol. 70, pp. 715-718; C. Hussey, 'Longford Castle – III. Wilts. The Seat of the Earl of Radnor' in *Country Life*, Vol. 70, pp. 724-730; P. Macquoid, *A History of English Furniture in Four Volumes*, 4 Vols., New York: Dover Publications, 1972, Vol. III: The Age of Mahogany, 1720-1770, pp. 75, 77-78; and T. Murdoch, 'Side Table, British, circa 1740' in C. Wilk (ed.) *Western Furniture: 1350 to the Present Day in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London*, London: Philip Wilson, 1996, p. 92.

[5] A. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010, pp. 88-89

[6] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, p. 163

The Round Parlour

From inside, the unusual circular form of the Round Parlour provides an unequivocal reminder of Longford's unique architecture (fig. 25). It was one of the first interiors to receive attention from the 1st Viscount, and it provides a rich example of how Longford's unusual and whimsical form was conjoined with eighteenth-century fashions.

In 1694, Longford's previous owner, Henry Hare, 2nd Baron Coleraine (1636-1708) described the room as "Gilt round … With pleasant closetts, & a safe retreat For [Clymene's?] (but not for Mars his heat)".[7] This description alludes to the room's gilded wainscoting, and chimneypiece depicting a relief of Mars and Venus (fig. 26), both of which were retained when the 1st Viscount redecorated the room. Hussey has noted that this chimneypiece is contemporary with examples at sixteenth-century Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire,[8] but Alastair Laing has reminded us that in the early eighteenth century William Kent and John Michael Rysbrack also produced stone overmantel reliefs with classical subjects for neo-Palladian interiors.[9] Thus, this Elizabethan 'relic' would not have seemed outmoded at the time.

The panelling, featuring classical patterns such as Ionic columns and fans, is believed to date from 1591,[10] and was painted white and re-gilded under the 1st Viscount's instruction (fig. 27). A letter dated November 1737, written by the 1st Viscount to his brother-in-law, describes his ambitions for the room:

> The sixth Week is now entred into since the Parlour was begun upon, & I believe it will take up ten days longer before it will be finished; I have added a good deal more guilding than We talked of & in my Opinion not a bit too

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[7] WSHC 1946/3/2C/11 History of buildings [Longford Castle] 1889
[8] Hussey, 'Longford Castle – II', p. 701. On chimneypieces in the Gallery at Hardwick Hall, see R. Coope, 'The 'Long Gallery': Its Origins, Development, Use and Decoration' in *Architectural History*, Vol. 29, 1986, p. 64.
[9] A. Laing, 'The Eighteenth-Century English Chimneypiece' in *Studies in the History of Art*, Vol. 25, Symposium Papers X: The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House, 1989, p. 245. Relief sculpture in overmantels was produced until the 1750s (Laing, 'Eighteenth-Century English Chimneypiece', p. 248).
[10] Hussey, 'Longford Castle – II', p. 701

> much; I was advised to guild the mouldings of the Pannells, but I think it best as it is[11]

Gilding was considered a "great extravagance" within the eighteenth-century interior,[12] and its extensive use within this room indicates the 1st Viscount's subscription to fashion. His accounts for the month of November 1737 also detail a payment of £38 made to "Mr. Kent for painting & guilding ye. Parlour", with a note stating "NB [Mr. Kent] says new painting ye. Parlour now might come to £4 or £5-, if it was quite plain, it would not come to above £1:10:0, or £1:15:0".[13] Extra work was also undertaken the following year. In June 1738, the 1st Viscount again "Pay'd Mr. Kent for additionall guilding & painting the Parlour".[14]

Further payments to this craftsman appear throughout the Longford accounts.[15] It is possible it was the aforementioned William Kent, renowned eighteenth-century architect and furniture designer,[16] who was contracted for this work at Longford. Hussey rejected this idea on the grounds that the name 'Mr. Kent' continues to appear in the Longford accounts after William Kent's death in 1748, sometimes for services unrelated to interior decoration.[17] However, these later payments may refer to a different individual, simply described in the 1st Viscount's accounts, as most contractors were, by title and surname only. It is still conceivable that William Kent was indeed responsible for the gilding in the Round Parlour, given his work in this vein at Houghton Hall, Norfolk, described by John Cornforth as "the most extensive and … skilfully planned example of gilding to survive".[18]

In the absence of definitive evidence, William Kent's involvement at Longford has to remain conjectural. What is of undoubted significance, however, is that, regardless

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[11] WSHC 1946/4/2B/1 Volume of family history documents 1623-1834
[12] J. Cornforth and J. Fowler, *English Decoration in the 18th Century*, London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1974, p. 185
[13] WSHC 1946/3/1B/1 House book [of household and personal expenses of Sir Jacob Bouverie] 1723-1745
[14] WSHC 1946/3/1B/1
[15] See Appendix C.
[16] On Kent's career, see S. Weber (ed.) *William Kent: Designing Georgian Britain*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013.
[17] For example, payments were made to "Mr. Kent for a salmon" on 9th January 1751, 3rd January 1752 and 30th December 1752 (WSHC 1946/3/1B/2 House book [of household and personal expenses of Sir Jacob Bouverie and William, 1st Earl of Radnor] 1745-1768)
[18] J. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004, p. 124

of the identity of the craftsman responsible, the 1st Viscount was clearly thinking in line with fashions of the time, bearing in mind the work being undertaken concurrently by other country house owners, when gilding the Round Parlour to such a degree.

The decision to refurbish the wainscot, rather than to replace it, also demonstrated a decorous choice on the part of the 1st Viscount. The neo-Palladian architect Isaac Ware, when describing interior decorations, stated that "the neatest [is] that in wainscot" (with stucco being the "grandest", and hangings "the most gaudy") and wainscot the "properest" for a parlour.[19] In the eighteenth century, the term 'neat' was seen to encapsulate "the opposite of showy excess", and was therefore "a recognised manner of decoration for social groups or rooms that made claims to taste, but not ostentatious grandeur."[20] The 1st Viscount's choice to retain 'neat' wainscot, considered appropriate to the context of the Round Parlour, spoke of his well-informed attitude to interior decoration.

Whilst gilding was more commonplace within eighteenth-century country house interiors, the use of white paint at this date was less conventional. Peter Thornton has argued that white and gold interior schemes, more common in France, were not frequently seen in England until after 1750.[21] Petworth House, Sussex, and Norfolk House, London provide later examples.[22] In the late 1730s, the French architect Jacques-François Blondel (1705-1774) wrote that carved wall-panelling ought not to be painted in colour, but covered in plain varnish.[23] He believed that white, when used, was best suited to rooms used in the summer, or during the daytime.[24] The Round Parlour may indeed have been used in this way. It has a number of exposed exterior walls, meaning it may have been colder, and thus less frequently used, in the

[19] I. Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture, Adorned with Plans and Elevations from Original Designs, Etc.*, London: T. Osborne and J. Shipton, 1768, pp. 469-470
[20] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, p. 180
[21] P. Thornton, *Authentic Décor: The Domestic Interior 1620-1920*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson: London, 1984, p. 98
[22] Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, pp. 55, 127-128. On the latter, see Victoria and Albert Museum, 'Norfolk House Music Room', http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/galleries/level-2/room-52nh-norfolk-house-music-room/ (accessed 12th January 2016).
[23] Thornton, *Authentic Décor*, p. 98
[24] Thornton, *Authentic Décor*, p. 98

winter. Moreover, given its circular form, light is able to enter during the day from multiple aspects, which serves to highlight the gilding.

The family patronised some of the most highly esteemed and fashionable furniture-makers of the eighteenth century for this and other rooms, including Benjamin Goodison (c.1700-1767), who was also employed by Thomas Coke, 1st Earl of Leicester (1697-1759) at Holkham Hall, Norfolk, and the Royal Family; William Hallett (c.1707-1781), who worked for the same clientele; William Vile (c.1700-1767) and his business partner John Cobb (c.1710-1778), whose patrons included King George III (1738-1820); William Bradshaw (dates unknown), who also worked at Holkham; William Ince (1737-1804) and John Mayhew (1736-1811); and the renowned furniture-maker Thomas Chippendale (1718-1779).[25] Goodison, Hallett, Vile and Cobb have been described as "the leading cabinet-makers of the middle years of the eighteenth century" by the furniture historian Margaret Jourdain.[26] The patronage of the best and most expensive artists in the business added caché to the Bouverie family's purchases.

One of the first bespoke items of furniture commissioned in the eighteenth century for the family was a bureau made for Sir Edward Bouverie by Robert Hodson (dates unknown) in 1724, although its intended location within the castle is unknown. The design was concerned with protecting the owner's privacy, as a note from its maker reveals:

> [I] have made Extraordinary Locks … with two Keys, one being a Master Key to go through all, and the other only to open fifteen drawers, which all lye on one side of the work, in Case you shoud have a mind, any one beside your self shou'd come at part of the Writings[27]

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[25] On the careers and clientele of these cabinetmakers, see R. Edwards and M. Jourdain, *Georgian Cabinet-Makers c.1700-1800*, London: Country Life Limited, 1955, pp. 25-27, 29-36, 50-51, 62-64, 135 and C. Saumarez Smith, *The Rise of Design: Design and the Domestic Interior in Eighteenth-Century England*, London: Pimlico, 2000, pp. 110-111.

[26] M. Jourdain and F. Rose, with a foreword by R. Edwards, *English Furniture: The Georgian Period (1750-1830)*, London: B. T. Batsford Ltd, 1953, p. 37

[27] See WSHC 1946/3/2A/14 Letter [from Robert Hodson to Edward des Bouverie] 1724. On furniture, locks and privacy in the Georgian period, see Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, pp. 38-48.

The 1st Viscount commissioned two marble-topped side tables along with other items of furniture from Goodison, probably in 1740, for the sum of £413.[28] One table had a curved back to fit the Round Parlour (fig. 28), and the other – as suggested in Chapter 2 – was possibly intended for the entrance hall at Longford and then later transferred to Coleshill House.[29] Cornforth has argued that having side tables in halls appears to have been an innovation of the 1720s, citing examples by Kent at Ditchley Park, Oxfordshire, and Houghton Hall.[30] Here, it is possible to claim an indirect link with Kent, as Goodison worked to Kent's designs.[31] The 1st Viscount was thus following furnishing trends in this patronage of Goodison.

However, what is of greatest note about the table in the Round Parlour is its particularity. Although fitting the table to the curvature of the room may have been borne of practical concerns, it also suggests a desire to unite new fashions with the castle's idiosyncratic heritage. Seamlessly fitting new pieces into Longford's distinctive frame by this means was also a priority for the 1st Viscount's successors, as later eighteenth-century furniture commissions from Cobb and Ince and Mayhew, designed for other circular tower rooms, also feature curved backs.[32]

The iconography of the side table is particularly significant, when considered as an expression of the Bouveries' social status at the time of commission. Similar side tables attributed to Kent for other country houses show primarily Italianate influences, including acanthus leaves, putti, and sphinxes.[33] In contrast, the Longford table combines references to the classical world with distinctly English motifs, such as foxes and oak leaves (fig. 29). These, when read alongside the female head representing Diana, Roman goddess of hunting, evoke the aristocratic pasttime of

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[28] WSHC 1946/3/1B/1. Other payments to Goodison appear in the accounts, although it is not certain which entries relate to which items of furniture (see Appendix C).
[29] The similarity of the Longford and Coleshill tables has caused some scholarly confusion, but it seems most plausible that both were commissioned together (see Hussey, 'For the Connoisseur', p. 679 and Murdoch, 'Side Table', p. 92).
[30] Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, p. 37
[31] See G. Beard, 'William Kent's furniture designs and the furniture makers' in *The Magazine Antiques*, Vol. CXXIX, New York: Straight Enterprises, June 1986, pp. 1281-1282; Murdoch, 'Side Table', p. 92; and Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, p. 37.
[32] N. Penny with the assistance of S. Avery-Quash, *A Guide to Longford Castle*, 2012, pp. 12-13
[33] P. Macquoid and H. C. R. Edwards, *The Dictionary of English Furniture*, 3 Vols., revised and enlarged by R. Edwards, London: Country Life Ltd, 1954, Vol. III, p. 282

hunting. The oak leaves and acorns suggest patriotism and Englishness, as well as longevity of dynasty,[34] and complement the 1st Viscount's tree planting at Longford.

Oak leaves and foxes are also found on furnishings and interior architecture at Houghton Hall, alongside armorial motifs,[35] suggesting a similar desire on the part of Sir Robert Walpole – who was elevated to the position of Prime Minister – to express patriotism and lineage through the country house interior. Considering the 1st Viscount's Anglicisation of his family name in 1736, use of this iconography in a commission a few years later may have been bound up with a wish to express a sense of English aristocratic identity: one that was also felt by others experiencing social escalation.

Anglo-Italian hybrid iconography also appears elsewhere at Longford. The Long Parlour and the Drawing Room, the next spaces to be experienced on a tour of the house, contain two eighteenth-century chimneypieces decorated with oak leaves and acorns (fig. 30), repeating and consolidating the message conveyed by the side table in the Round Parlour. Many important eighteenth-century sculptors, including Rysbrack and Sir Henry Cheere (1703-1781), were commissioned to produce new and costly chimneypieces for Longford, perhaps to replace earlier examples not considered as worthy of saving as the sixteenth-century chimneypiece retained in the Round Parlour.

A bill of £805 10s. was paid in April 1743 to "Mr. Chere… for chimney-pieces & tops &c".[36] By way of comparison, the 1st Viscount spent much less on average for paintings during this period: his most expensive old master acquisitions, a pair of paintings by Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665), still only cost £481 5s.[37] This relative expenditure on individual chimneypieces and paintings certainly reflects market

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[34] Stephen Daniels has argued that oaks, "like the ideal landed family" were understood to be "venerable, patriarchal, stately, guardian" and English (S. Daniels, 'The Political Iconography of Woodland in Later Georgian England' in D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels (eds.) *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 48).

[35] J. Cornforth, 'The Genesis and Creation of a Great Interior' in A. Moore (ed.) *Houghton Hall: The Prime Minister, the Empress, and the Heritage*, London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 1996, p. 33 and A. Moore, 'The Stone Hall' in Moore (ed.) *Houghton Hall*, p. 114

[36] WSHC 1946/3/1B/1

[37] The acquisition of these paintings will be discussed in Chapter 4. See also Appendix C for a full list of all art-related expenditure of the period.

conditions, but also demonstrates the investment which the 1st Viscount was happy to make in Longford's permanent interior architecture, and the importance he attached to the interiors as surroundings for his collection of fine art, and as vehicles to express his taste and status as an English landowner.

These Anglo-Italian motifs also appear in the Gallery at Longford, upon console tables adorned with oak leaves, and pedestals decorated with a combination of classical mythological elements, acorns and oak leaves (fig. 31).[38] Furthermore, gilt mirror surrounds in the Green Velvet Drawing Room feature shells – evocative of the Roman goddess Venus, who is said to have been borne of one – combined with an abundance of oak leaves (fig. 32). The frequent recurrence of these forms within the most important and lavishly furnished rooms at Longford indicates that the resultant image of the Bouverie family as established English landowners – as well as fashionable and wealthy patrons – was one consciously and consistently promoted.

The Gallery

Lord Coleraine described the Gallery as a "wainscoted long Gallery (Matted below & fretted well on high)"; decorated with family portraits: "some noble Ancestors; Relations; ffriends In Picture: frustrating Death's Envious Ends"; and used for recreation: "Here Billiards, Bowles, or Shittlecock write Even in worst seasons, to some fair delight".[39] This illustrates how the room had been decorated and utilised in line with the Elizabethan Long Gallery tradition, prior to Bouverie ownership.[40] The transformation that took place under the direction of the 1st Viscount (fig. 33)

[38] In the 1757 publication *Ruins of Balbec*, the antiquarian Robert Wood (1717-1771) included drawings of classical composite capitals with oak leaves, and this motif was also used by the architect Robert Adam during the 1760s (D. Cruickshank and P. Wyld, *London: The Art of Georgian Building*, London: The Architectural Press Ltd, 1975, p. 9). Intriguingly, the 1st Viscount's cousin, the antiquarian John Bouverie (c.1723-1750) had accompanied Wood and James Dawkins (1722-1757) on the first part of the expedition to the eastern Mediterranean in 1749-51 that resulted in the *Ruins of Balbec* (see Royal Collection, 'Robert Wood: The Ruins of Balbec', https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/1071055/the-ruins-of-balbec [accessed 13th January 2016]).

[39] WSHC 1946/3/2C/11

[40] Long galleries were frequently decorated in wainscot, filled with family portraits, and used for exercise and leisure (see Coope, "Long Gallery", pp. 51-52, 62-66 and G. Jackson-Stops with the assistance of F. Russell, 'The Jacobean Long Gallery' in G. Jackson-Stops (ed.) *The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting*, Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985, p. 124).

eclipsed the room's original aesthetic to a greater degree than in the case of the Round Parlour, as, here, he did not retain the original wall panelling.

In 1745, the 1st Viscount summarised the outgoings that had been "Layed out on the Gallery at Longford" in his account book. His consolidation of his expenditure on the room's decoration in a discrete set of accounts reveals its magnitude – a total of £1,296 – again highlighting the importance he accorded to interior decoration, but it also shows how he saw it as a separate and significant undertaking. As Hussey has noted, this departure from his usual practice of keeping accounts reflects the fact that "no other room in the house received such care or was furnished and decorated *en suite*."[41] The expenditure covered works including "plaining the Gallery Architrave round the doors ornaments to the Chimney &c"; "Painting the Gallery"; "The stucco of the Ceiling"; various sculptural decorations;[42] "A Carpet … cleaning mending & binding"; "Mr. Kilpin the Upholsterer's bill" of £125; "Mr. Goodison the Cabinet-Maker's bill" of £400; and a total of 283 yards of green damask, costing over £160 in total.[43]

This complete overhaul demonstrates the 1st Viscount's eagerness to concentrate money and effort on bringing Longford's principal room into line with the fashions of the day. The works may have been undertaken with a view to what was to come. As the Gallery was primarily intended for the display of works of art, it was clearly important that it be decorated to the fullest extent in what was considered the appropriate manner for an eighteenth-century picture gallery.[44] For instance, damask, and other fabric coverings such as cut or plain velvet were frequently used in rooms destined for the display of pictures.[45] Moreover, red and green were thought particularly apposite backgrounds for Italian old masters, due to their red ground gesso.[46] By replacing the wainscoting with green damask, it appears that the 1st Viscount was aware of these conventions. Rather than considering interior

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[41] Hussey, 'For the Connoisseur', p. 680
[42] The inclusion of these items within the list will be discussed further in Chapter 4.
[43] WSHC 1946/3/1B/1
[44] The display of art in this room will be discussed fully in Chapter 6.
[45] J. Cornforth, 'A Georgian Patchwork' in G. Jackson-Stops, *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House*, Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1989, p. 165 and Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, p. 239
[46] G. Waterfield, 'Picture Hanging and Gallery Decoration' in G. Waterfield (ed.) *Palaces of Art: Art Galleries in Britain 1790-1990*, London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 1991, pp. 59-60

decoration and art collecting in isolation, he instead took a holistic approach, keeping his new but expanding picture collection in mind when decorating the Gallery.

The fact that the 1st Viscount's two successors did not change the room's decoration demonstrates his perceived success in achieving the correct backdrop against which the art collection could be presented, and also suggests their disinclination to tamper with works that had cost so much money. This contrasts with the picture proffered by Cornforth and John Fowler, who have argued that country house furnishings and decorations were more ephemeral and subject to whims of fashion, at least in comparison to the buildings themselves.[47] At Longford, the significant monetary outlay made in the 1740s, combined with the quality of the design and materials, arguably precluded the need for further work to be undertaken on the interiors. Furthermore, the choice of decoration continued to be held in high esteem. For example, twenty years later, damask was purchased by Queen Charlotte for Buckingham House, London,[48] demonstrating how this form of decoration continued to be well regarded.

The 1st Viscount also adhered to eighteenth-century conventions in interior decoration in his furniture commissions for the room. An extensive suite of furniture in the Gallery attributed to Goodison, comprising two day-beds, two long stools and eight lesser stools, is upholstered in green damask to match the walls, and features gilt mahogany frames carved with scallops and acanthus (figs. 34 and 35).[49] Unity was often achieved in interiors through the use of the same fabric for covering walls and items of furniture.[50] For instance, at Houghton Hall, green silk velvet was hung in a room alongside furniture upholstered in the same material.[51]

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[47] Cornforth and Fowler, *English Decoration in the 18th Century*, p. 7 and Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, pp. 1-10

[48] Hussey, 'For the Connoisseur', p. 680

[49] For full descriptions of the items of furniture in the Gallery, see Hussey, 'For the Connoisseur', pp. 680-81, 717 and Macquoid, *History of English Furniture*, Vol. III, pp. 75, 77-8.

[50] G. Jackson-Stops and J. Pipkin, *The English Country House: A Grand Tour*, Boston: Little, Brown and Company; Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1985, p. 145

[51] T. Morel, 'The Carlo Maratta Room' in T. Morel (ed.) *Houghton Revisited*, first published on the occasion of the exhibition 'Houghton Revisited: The Walpole Masterpieces from Catherine the Great's Hermitage', 2013, London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2013, p. 162

Galleries were also frequently furnished with long stools during the 1740s,[52] and many patrons of the time also commissioned full suites of furniture from one craftsman. For instance, at Temple Newsam, Yorkshire, Henry Ingram, 7th Viscount Irwin (1691-1761) commissioned an ensemble of furniture comprising chairs, settees and a couch in the 1740s for the Long Gallery from James Pascall (c.1697-1746?).[53] Goodison's suite of furniture at Longford has been described as one of the finest of its type,[54] as have other items within the room, such as the pedestals, described as "contemporary with specimens at Houghton, but altogether superior in style."[55] Therefore, the 1st Viscount's furniture commissions for the Gallery were not merely in line with those of other patrons of the time, in terms of the style and type of item commissioned, but were both at the apex of fashion and of the highest quality.

However, despite this subscription to contemporary fashion, elements of the Gallery's decoration and furnishing hint at less conventional and more idiosyncratic tastes, as well as the castle's heritage. Cornforth noted that the 1st Viscount did not change the room's proportions, with the result that it could only house a single row of large pictures (fig. 36).[56] Purpose-designed eighteenth-century picture galleries had higher ceilings than this. For example, at Harewood House, Yorkshire, the Gallery, designed in the 1770s by Robert Adam, accommodates three rows of pictures, one above another (fig. 37). Rooms within Tudor and Jacobean houses appropriated as eighteenth-century picture galleries, however, have notably lower ceilings, as is the case at Temple Newsam (fig. 38), as well as Longford. Therefore, the 1st Viscount's refurbishment of the Gallery, although in line with contemporary fashion, was limited by the bounds of the existing architecture, which he did not decide to change.

The Gallery also contains many exotic items of furniture, such as a Japanese toilet box and Chinese lacquer writing table (figs. 39 and 40), and the Longford accounts show a number of oriental or oriental-style acquisitions in the period after the 1st

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[52] Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, p. 68
[53] D. Hill, 'James Pascall and the Long Gallery Suite at Temple Newsam' in *Furniture History*, Vol. 17, 1981, p. 70
[54] They were described as "magnificent" by Hussey (Hussey, 'For the Connoisseur', p. 680). See also Macquoid, *History of English Furniture*, Vol. III, p. 77.
[55] Macquoid, *History of English Furniture*, Vol. III, p. 75
[56] Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, pp. 244-245

Viscount's refurbishment works. In 1743, he purchased two 'India chests'; in 1750, he bought "Japan Cabinets" for thirteen guineas, and a further "Japan-Cabinet at Ld. Lymington's sale" for £36 5s.; and, in 1756, he bought "at Langford's a six-leaved Japan-screen".[57] These exotic items were highly fashionable, with chinoiserie reaching the apex of its popularity in 1750.[58]

However, some acquisitions represented a more eccentric taste, also creating a striking juxtaposition between old and new. A particularly notable example is the Steel Chair, made in 1574 by Thomas Rucker (c.1532-1606), and given to the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolph II (1552-1612) for the Imperial Kunstkammer in Prague by the City of Augsburg (fig. 41).[59] The merchant, naturalist and Director of the Bank of England, Gustavus Brander (1720-1787), who brought the chair to England in the 1770s, sold it to the 2nd Earl for £1,000.[60] This item was undoubtedly not acquired to function as piece of useable furniture, but rather as an expression of the 2nd Earl's antiquarian tastes. Moreover, as Nicholas Penny has noted, the chair's contemporaneity with Longford Castle itself may well be significant.[61]

A letter of 1781 from Brander to the 2nd Earl contains recommendations for keeping the chair in good condition, but also reveals the previous owner's belief that it should be presented as a curiosity:

> The coat of Black Lead given to it, I apprehend obscures its Beauty, and degrades the still more singular material of which it is Compos'd, and which constitutes a principal part of its Curiosity … In case of a little discoloration only by Rust let that be consider'd, as its essential [Salt?], or, as the Virtuosi do the Patina on a Brass Medal / the genuine lacquer of Antiquity[62]

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[57] WSHC 1946/3/1B/1 and 1946/3/1B/2
[58] M. Snodin, 'Style: Georgian Britain, 1714-1837' in J. Styles and M. Snodin, *Design and the Decorative Arts: Britain 1500-1900*, London: V&A Publications, 2001, p. 193
[59] G. W. R. Ward, *The Grove Encyclopedia of Materials and Techniques in Art*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 294
[60] Christie, Manson & Woods Ltd., *Inventory of Selected Chattels: The Earl of Radnor, Longford Castle*, 3 Vols., 27th October 2010, Vol. III, p. 113
[61] Penny with the assistance of Avery-Quash, *Guide to Longford Castle*, p. 27
[62] WSHC 1946/3/2A/27 [Letters, descriptions and photographs of] The Steel Chair 1781-c1820

Instructions written to the Longford housekeeper by the 2nd Earl in advance of his trip to France in 1786 illustrate the value he attached to this piece: "particularly care must be taken against any the least damp getting on the imperial Chair – I would have the Chair stand, where I have now placed it – opposite the Gallery Chimney".[63] Locating it opposite a fireplace represents a pragmatic decision, as the heat from the fire would have helped to prevent damp and rust from adversely affecting its steel structure, but the instruction also implies that the 2nd Earl was keen that the chair be displayed in pride of place in the Gallery, and indicates the chair's perceived parity with the fashionable bespoke eighteenth-century furniture commissions already located there.[64] It appears that the family deemed the Gallery to be a space appropriate for the display of the most unusual and interesting items of furniture in their ownership, as well as their most fashionable and prestigious works of fine and decorative art.

The Green Velvet Drawing Room

At the same time as the Gallery was being refurbished, the 1st Viscount also contracted work on the round tower room adjoining the Gallery at its far end. From the type of decoration and furnishing he commissioned, it appears that he conceived of the two rooms as working together in enfilade. Although they were already configured on a single axis, the form of interior decoration pursued indicates that the 1st Viscount wished to enhance the vista, and to augment the sense of continuity and progression between these two spaces.

This was primarily achieved through the use of the same colour for its interior. The walls of the room were hung with green velvet to match the green damask of the adjacent Gallery, purchased in 1743 for £150,[65] after a suite of parcel-gilt mahogany chairs upholstered in the same fabric had been commissioned in 1739 (figs. 42 and 43). Hussey has attributed these chairs to the renowned cabinetmaker Giles Grendey (1693-1780) on the basis of the virtuosity of the carving, which includes lion paw

[63] WSHC 1946/4/2C/2 Notebook of Jacob, 2nd Earl of Radnor 1786
[64] Visitors' responses to the Steel Chair will be discussed in Chapter 7.
[65] WSHC 1946/3/1B/1

feet and lion heads on the arms: the latter are reminiscent of other work attributed to the artist.[66] A payment in the Longford accounts to "Greenday, chairmaker" of £68 corroborates this suggestion most obviously as the name is the same (if misspelt); moreover, Hussey deemed the resultant cost per chair of £8 10s. "quite a likely sum."[67] The carving on the chairs speaks of the fashions of the time, as similar examples were made for Holkham Hall, Devonshire House, London, and Rousham House, Oxfordshire.[68] The carving also provides a sense of continuity with the stools in the adjacent Gallery.[69]

Cornforth has noted eighteenth-century interior designers' awareness of the importance of furnishings in lending an overall sense of homogeneity to a house, acknowledging the way in which "colours, weaves and textures were considered in sequences of rooms".[70] The change in texture from silk damask to velvet, however, subtly differentiated the spaces. As Cornforth noted in relation to the use of green and of parcel-gilt mahogany across the Gallery and Green Velvet Drawing Room at Longford, drawing rooms might "[continue] the colours of the flanking rooms", but "were invariably more richly furnished".[71] The use of sumptuous velvet might have provided more comfort in a room primarily intended to be sat in. Furthermore, because velvet was more expensive than damask,[72] it may have been employed for the smaller of the two rooms on the basis of cost.

Although the Gallery was the castle's largest and most prestigious room, damask might well have been deemed the most appropriate decorative choice when considering the room's use for the display of an expanding collection of pictures, as velvet is more easily damaged if pictures are rehung.[73] The 1st Viscount may have foreseen a sparser or more static arrangement of art in the Green Velvet Drawing Room when selecting velvet for this space.[74] A late eighteenth-century design for

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[66] Hussey, 'For the Connoisseur', p. 681
[67] See Hussey, 'For the Connoisseur', pp. 681-682 and WSHC 1946/3/1B/1.
[68] Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, p. 104
[69] Hussey, 'For the Connoisseur', p. 681
[70] Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, p. 77
[71] Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, pp. 52-54
[72] Cornforth and Fowler, *English Decoration in the 18th Century*, pp. 131, 133
[73] Cornforth and Fowler, *English Decoration in the 18th Century*, p. 202
[74] Eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century inventories note the presence of only a few paintings in this room, which may equally have been precipitated by the presence of velvet on the walls (WSHC 1946/3/2A/1 Early catalogues of paintings at Longford 1748-1828).

classically influenced gilded decorations above the room's fireplace contains space for pictures, demonstrating that the family thought about the room holistically (figs. 44 and 45).[75]

The fact that the room came to be known as the 'Green Velvet' Drawing Room emphasises the centrality of its wall hangings to its identity. Other rooms at Longford similarly came to be known by the material in which they were decorated, such as the 'India Paper Bed Chamber', the 'Blue Damask Bed Chamber', and the 'Tapestry Room'.[76] The latter, another circular tower room, was hung with eighteenth-century Brussels tapestries after paintings by the Flemish artist David Teniers the Younger, commissioned by the 1st Viscount in 1749 (fig. 46).[77] From the mid seventeenth- to the mid eighteenth-century, subjects from Teniers' paintings were often used as the basis for tapestry designs.[78] Given that houses of the Tudor period were often decorated with moveable tapestries,[79] one could argue that the 1st Viscount's decision to decorate a room with contemporary examples was an eighteenth-century inflection of a trend that looked back to Longford's sixteenth-century heritage.

In the Green Velvet Drawing Room, the decision to decorate in a rich fabric may also have been influenced by Longford's history, and the special significance of this particular room. As Lord Coleraine's poem reveals, the room had previously been used as one of the house's best bedchambers: "Where the two happiest Queens, wch ere did reign The first and second Elizabeth have lay'n."[80] The room's contents may also have spoken of an interest in and respect for this heritage. In 1799, the 2nd Earl

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[75] WSHC 1946/3/2E/1 Designs for internal fittings at Longford … late 18th century
[76] See WSHC 1946/3/2A/1.
[77] See WSHC 1946/3/1B/2. These tapestries are now in the Triangular Hall, but eighteenth-century visitor accounts reveal that they were the decorations after which the Tapestry Room was named (see Anonymous, *The Beauties of England Displayed, in a Tour through the Following Counties … Exhibiting A View of whatever is curious, remarkable, or entertaining*, London, 1762, p. 41).
[78] W. G. Thomson, *A History of Tapestry from the Earliest Times until the Present Day*, third edition, with revisions edited by F. P. & E. S. Thomson, EP Publishing Limited, 1973, p. 374; H. Göbel, *Tapestries of the Lowlands*, trans. R. West, New York: Hacker Art Books, 1974, p. 49; and M. Florisoone, 'Classical Tapestry from the 16th to the Early 20th Century' in P. Verlet, M. Florisoone, A. Hoffmeister and F. Tabard, *The Book of Tapestry: History and Technique*, trans. from the French, London: Octopus Books, 1978, pp. 89, 101. Brussels tapestries after Flemish designs were hung at Wanstead House (see A. S. Marks, "Assembly at Wanstead House' by William Hogarth' in *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin*, Vol. 77, No. 332, Spring 1981, p. 13).
[79] Jackson-Stops and Pipkin, *English Country House*, p. 139
[80] Queen Elizabeth I and Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia (1596-1662), daughter of King James I (see WSHC 1946/3/2C/11).

purchased a cabinet understood to be Elizabethan (fig. 47).[81] A note acquired with the cabinet records its contents, including portrait miniatures and two letters written by the Queen herself.[82] It also states that "the Cabinet was given by Queen Elizabeth to Lady Rich – and by her Ladyship it was given to the family of the present Possessor – And has never been in any other hand",[83]attesting to the cabinet's highly significant provenance prior to Bouverie ownership, which may well have constituted a large part of its appeal for the 2nd Earl.

The intricate workmanship of the cabinet, and its professed historical significance, imbue this object with the status of a 'curiosity', something that, as with the Steel Chair, appealed to the 2nd Earl. Between 1797 and 1798, he journeyed to St. Petersburg via Hamburg, Hanover, Brunswick, Berlin, Dresden, Copenhagen and Stockholm, visiting palaces and cathedrals and writing down his observations in a journal.[84] His notes record his impressions of a cabinet of curiosities at the Ducal palace in Brunswick, "objects of curiosity" at Dresden, and a "cabinet given to Gustavas Adolphus by the town of Angsburgh" in Sweden.[85] His fascination with small-scale objects of technical brilliance or historical importance in continental collections may have spurred him on to acquire similarly unusual items for the Longford collection. The Pope Sixtus V cabinet acquired during the eighteenth century for nearby Stourhead House, Wiltshire, provides a parallel example of an "object of display, designed to amaze, impress and entertain",[86] valued for its material brilliance, intriguing form, and provenance. Whilst the Roman origins of the Sixtus cabinet enriched its new classically inspired surroundings at Stourhead, the Elizabethan cabinet highlighted Longford's own unique heritage.

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[81] WSHC 1946/3/1B/4 Account book [of personal expenditure of Jacob, 2nd Earl of Radnor] 1797-1828

[82] WSHC 1946/4/2K/1 Lady Rich's cabinet contents and documents 1589-1996. The miniatures will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

[83] WSHC 1946/4/2K/1. Although the royal heritage is certain, Roy Strong has disputed parts of this provenance account (see R. Strong, 'The Radnor Miniatures' in J. Herbert (ed.) *Christie's Review of the Season 1974*, Hutchinson of London/Harry N. Abrams, Inc., New York, 1974, p. 257).

[84] Berkshire Record Office (hereafter BRO) D/EPb/F28 Diary of a journey from Yarmouth to Gothenburg … 1797-1798

[85] BRO D/EPb/F28

[86] S. Jervis and D. Dodd, *Roman Splendour English Arcadia: The English Taste for Pietre Dure and the Sixtus Cabinet at Stourhead*, London: Philip Wilson, 2015, p. 103

The hidden drawers and cupboards inside the cabinet, only revealed when it is opened up, also create a playful tension between interiority and exteriority. "The fascination of chests and small caskets resides in the fact that they may be opened", Marcia Pointon has noted.[87] The Green Velvet Drawing Room was one of the final spaces to be experienced on the circuit of rooms at Longford,[88] and thus represented its heart, a notion compounded by its rich decoration and particular historical significance. Having penetrated this far into the castle, the cabinet contained further layers to be unveiled, as well as portrait miniatures themselves composed of many physical strata.[89] Patricia Fumerton has described the movement of a courtier firstly through Queen Elizabeth's state apartments, then her bedchamber, her cabinet, and their ultimate access to a portrait miniature as a process of opening up and "private self-revelation".[90] This private yet public "inward turning", Fumerton has argued, characterised the Elizabethan age,[91] and thus the process of concealment and revelation that was enacted at Longford, as one moved through space and glimpsed rooms beyond, arguably spoke to the castle's heritage. The way in which the Green Velvet Drawing Room was decorated and furnished suggests that it represented, for the Bouverie family, Longford's core, heart, and true identity.

Case Study: Silverware and Porcelain

One of the family's most significant examples of patronage within the decorative arts was their repeated employment of the silversmith George Wickes (c.1698-1761) and his workshop. In 1735, Wickes advertised himself in *The London Evening Post* as a "Goldsmith and Jeweller" who made and sold "all sorts of curious work in gold and silver, jewels and watches after the best and newest fashion", and also traded in these

[87] See discussion of G. Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, 1958, trans. M. Jolas, Boston, Beacon Press, 1964, p. 85 in M. Pointon, *Brilliant Effects: A Cultural History of Gem Stones and Jewellery*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2009, p. 81.
[88] Visitor routes through the house will be discussed in Chapter 7.
[89] On the process of creating portrait miniatures via layers of vellum, card, gesso and paint, see Victoria and Albert Museum, 'Portrait Miniatures: Materials & Techniques', http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/p/portrait-miniatures-on-vellum/ (accessed 22nd January 2016). Cases, such as those in which the Longford miniatures were housed, often provided a further layer (see P. Fumerton, "Secret' Arts: Elizabethan Miniatures and Sonnets' in *Representations*, No. 15, Summer 1986, pp. 63-69).
[90] Fumerton, "Secret' Arts', pp. 57-66. On the location of portrait miniatures within private spaces in Elizabethan houses, see especially pp. 59-60.
[91] Fumerton, "Secret' Arts', p. 59

items second-hand.[92] By the end of the 1740s, Wickes's patrons included Frederick, Prince of Wales (1707-1751), a number of dukes and duchesses, and Sir Robert Walpole.[93] The 1st Viscount's decision to patronise Wickes above other silversmiths – including those of Huguenot descent – could well have been partly due to the calibre of this clientele, with whom the 1st Viscount may have wished to associate himself, and whose approval provided a guarantee of the quality of Wickes's products and services.

Wickes's 'Gentleman's Ledger' records commissions totalling as much as £1001 12s. from "Sr Jacob Bouvere" in 1737, for goods and services including "graving 3 Coats on a Branch Candlestick"; "Eighteen Shape Dishes … five dozen of plates … graving the dishes … graving the plates … graving 7 Crests … a pr Chased Candlesticks … a Reading Candlestick … graving 3 Crests … four Waiters … graving four Coasts … a Large Strong plate Case" amongst others.[94] The fact that this patronage took place at the same time as the 1st Viscount's inheritance of Longford and his work on its interior decoration is highly significant. Investing heavily at this time in an extensive collection of plate bearing his family arms and crests was an important way in which he set himself up as a member of the elite.

Tessa Murdoch has argued that eighteenth-century silver was deemed an appropriate investment for the increased wealth of its patrons.[95] Moreover, silver's malleable properties also meant that it could be reworked and enhanced in line with social ascension. When times were good, plate could be remade in a more fashionable style,[96] or traditional styles could be retained, perhaps to convey longevity of dynasty, but updated with new crests or coats of arms at moments of ennoblement.

The Wickes ledgers and Longford accounts illustrate how the Bouveries' plate was reworked over the course of our period to express the family's ever-increasing social status. In 1748, following the 1st Viscount's ennoblement, Wickes received a large

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[92] E. Barr, *George Wickes 1698-1761: Royal Goldsmith*, London: Studio Vista/Christie's, 1980, pp. 26-27
[93] Barr, *George Wickes*, pp. 106-107
[94] National Art Library (hereafter NAL) AAD/1995/7/1 (VAM 1) Gentleman's Ledger 1735-1740
[95] T. Murdoch, 'Appendix D: The Real Value of Engraved Silver', offprint from *Antique Collector*, April 1982 in T. Murdoch, 'Huguenot Artists, Designers and Craftsmen in Great Britain and Ireland, 1680-1760', unpublished PhD thesis, Westfield College, University of London, 1982, p. 79
[96] Murdoch, 'Appendix D: Real Value of Engraved Silver', p. 81

order which included instructions to "[grave] 21 Coats … 145 crests … To [take] the arms out of a pr. Candlesticks & [regrave] 2 crests",[97] and a payment was made to Wickes in March 1750 for "altering the arms and adding the Coronet to almost all the other Plate" as well as some new items.[98] In 1766, following the family's elevation to the Earldom of Radnor, many pieces were re-engraved. Wickes was paid for "Gravg 72 Coats Supporters & Corts and pollishg up six Doz: Plates … altering [4?] Cort on ye Cannister … taking out and Regraving Coats on 29 Dishes … on four salad Dishes & polish up … taking out and regravg Corts on the Candlesticks … graving a Cort on an Inkstand", and engraving coats of arms, crests and coronets on numerous other items.[99]

This patronage of the firm extended throughout the eighteenth century. Payments to Edward Wakelin (fl.1759-1777) and John Parker (dates unknown), Wickes's apprentices who ran the firm after his retirement, appear in the 1st Earl's accounts in the 1760s.[100] Wakelin had produced a pair of sauceboats engraved with the arms of Pleydell-Bouverie impaling Clarke in 1759 (fig. 48). Robert Garrard (fl.1792), the goldsmith who took over the firm in 1802, created an Inventory of Plate for the family in 1816.[101] This ongoing patronage demonstrates how the Bouverie family saw their collection of silverware as central to articulating their social identity, and, moreover, that they consistently entrusted the task of keeping it up-to-date to the same firm.[102] These commissions encompassed a range of items that would have been seen and used on a regular basis by the family and their guests, such as plates, dishes, candlesticks and cutlery. These items would have worked as part of a whole, alongside the redecorated interiors, family portraits, fine art acquisitions and other material items that expressed the family's wealth and status. Although country house owners might also inscribe symbols of their status upon the interior or exterior fabric of a house,[103] the Bouveries' use of the flexible medium of silver as a primary

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97 NAL AAD/1995/7/3 (VAM 3) Gentleman's Ledger 1746-1751
98 WSHC 1946/3/1B/2
99 NAL AAD/1995/7/7 (VAM 7) Gentleman's Ledger 1765-1776
100 WSHC 1946/3/1B/2
101 WSHC 1946/3/1A/5 Inventory of plate [belonging to William, Viscount Folkestone, later 3rd Earl of Radnor] 1816-1838
102 Chapter 5 will show how the family also often entrusted the same portraitists with commissions over a long period of time.
103 At Houghton, the Garter star and Walpole crest appear frequently within the interior decoration (Marquess of Cholmondeley, 'Introduction' in Moore (ed.) *Houghton Hall*, p. 9). At Longford,

arena in which to update their social status demonstrates their adaptability and readiness to change.

The Wickes ledgers also hint at the maintenance and upkeep that had to be undertaken to keep a collection of plate looking its best. For instance, in 1745 and 1746, the 1st Viscount had a number of items mended.[104] Elaine Barr has noted the frequency with which Wickes undertook repairs for his aristocratic patrons.[105] The maintenance of a collection of plate signifies the amount of use it would undergo, and also its owners' concern with caring for their collections for posterity.

Porcelain dinner services were similarly functional items that would have been seen and used on a regular basis, and likewise often carried armorial cyphers to denote ownership and status. An extensive dinner service dating from c.1724 at Longford is decorated with gilding, emblems and crests (fig. 49). The arms featured are those of the Duncombe family, quartering Cornwallis and impaling Verney, signifying the service's provenance: it was made for Anthony Duncombe, 1st Lord Feversham (c.1695-1763), and his first wife, the Honourable Margaret Verney (dates unknown).[106] Lord Feversham's third wife, Anne Duncombe (1759-1828), later married the 2nd Earl, bringing the service to Longford.[107]

However, in contrast to silver, crests and arms on porcelain services were impossible to amend at times of change in ownership or title. The relative permanence and impermanence of the respective materials means that the range of decorative items seen and used within the Longford interiors functioned to convey both the family's current social status and their historic familial connections. The links that the porcelain dinner service advertised between the Bouveries, Duncombes and Verneys were no less important in conveying their new owners' social status, than were the updated crests and coronets upon their silver plate. The two decorative forms thereby embody the relationship between ongoing social ascension and static moments of social significance, such as marriage.

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symbolic representations of the family's status are visible in the fabric of the building, but these are mostly late nineteenth-century additions.

[104] NAL AAD/1995/7/2 (VAM 2) Gentleman's Ledger 1740-1748

[105] Barr, *George Wickes*, pp. 95, 130

[106] Christie, *Inventory of Selected Chattels*, Vol. III, pp. 3-4

[107] Christie, *Inventory of Selected Chattels*, Vol. III, pp. 3-4

The Wickes ledgers also reveal commissions made by the 2nd Earl's wife, Anne, Countess of Radnor, providing an insight into female patronage that is rare in the Longford archive. Between 1813 and 1815, the firm provided gold thimbles; a gold pencil case; "a pair of Amber Waist Clasps"; and various items of jewellery including "a pr of garnet Earrings" to the Countess, as well as services such as "colouring a long Golde Neckchain".[108] These payments contrast with a note of 21st October 1815 in the ledger detailing a payment for "Repairing a Teapot & furnishing Key to padlock (Lord R)",[109] where the firm were clear to document the 2nd Earl's involvement with items that were clearly deemed a concern of the husband, rather than the wife.

The Countess's payments also indicate that the family had pieces of jewellery reworked, as do entries in the Longford accounts "for setting … diamonds" and other items of jewellery,[110] and inventories listing a collection of loose diamonds.[111] Hannah Greig has explored the frequency with which jewellery – particularly that made from diamonds – was broken up and reset into new pieces amongst eighteenth-century elites, often at moments of transfer between individuals, a practice which publicly "registered crucial moments in family history", and used the medium to "mark out dynasties and lineage."[112] Like plate, jewellery may have been an arena in which the Bouverie family took the opportunity to refashion and remake their possessions in line with their changing social status.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how several important interiors at Longford were decorated and furnished during the eighteenth century in a manner that interwove a subscription to contemporary fashion with evident respect for the castle's

[108] NAL AAD/1995/7/40 (VAM 37) Gentleman's Ledger 1811-1818
[109] NAL AAD/1995/7/40
[110] See payments to Mr. Harningk in 1731, 1732, 1733, 1736 and 1739 (WSHC 1946/3/1B/1).
[111] WSHC 1946/4/2K/54 Inventory of Valuables 1829-1830
[112] H. Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, pp. 50, 54-61. On resetting, borrowing and hiring jewels, see also Pointon, *Brilliant Effects*, pp. 24-25.

Elizabethan heritage, as well as an individual touch. Cornforth has argued that the 1st Viscount was "careful to retain the historic character of the house where he thought it appropriate", adding that "to what extent he saw the place as conferring antiquity on the family is hard to say".[113] Given the 1st Viscount's successful adherence to both old and new symbols of aristocracy, and his decision to retain the sixteenth-century aesthetic of the castle's exterior, as explored earlier in this thesis, it is apparent that the 1st Viscount was indeed interested in retaining visual reminders of the past that served to associate him with established tradition, rather than a 'nouveau riche' identity.

These rooms discussed in this chapter are notable for the fact that they were initially refurbished under the direction of the 1st Viscount, signifying the beginning of his tenure at Longford. Cornforth has cautioned against the tendency to look at rooms as completed wholes, given the length of time it took to construct and furnish an interior, and the ever-changing nature of a lived-in home.[114] Although the initial forms of decoration were retained by the 1st and 2nd Earls, they were also augmented, for instance through the introduction of 'kindred' items such as bespoke furniture, and the Elizabethan cabinet.

Ongoing payments in the Longford accounts made by the three individuals over the course of the period to upholsterers and cabinetmakers, as well as to craftsmen for cleaning and remaking decorative items, also demonstrate the constant need for the upkeep and maintenance of those interiors and their contents.[115] For instance, in addition to the work undertaken by Wickes's firm, payments were made to "Pyke the Watchmaker for cleaning clocks", and to others for cleaning works of fine art.[116] The painter Arthur Pond (1705?-1758) and the restorer Isaac Collivoe (c.1702-1769) were employed for this latter task in 1731 and between 1742 and 1766 respectively.[117]

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[113] Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, p. 222
[114] Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, p. 10. See also Cornforth and Fowler, *English Decoration in the 18th Century*, p. 56.
[115] See Appendix C.
[116] WSHC 1946/3/1B/1 and 1946/3/1B/2
[117] For these and other payments for cleaning, see Appendix C. On Pond, see L. Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London: The Rise of Arthur Pond*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1983, and on Collivoe, see J. Simon, 'British Picture Restorers, 1600-1950', http://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-british-picture-restorers/british-picture-restorers-1600-1950-c.php (accessed 26th January 2016). The art dealer, painter, and first Keeper of the National Gallery, William Seguier (1772-1843), was also employed for

It was a similar case at Coleshill House, Berkshire, where the Bouveries, "beyond wallpapers and other such small renewals", made few alterations.[118] The interiors that the family inherited at Coleshill did not require much in the way of alteration, as they already conformed to fashionable ideals (figs. 50, 51, 52). In line with their approach to the house's exterior, discussed in Chapter 2, the 1st and 2nd Earls seem to have decided not to make any large changes at Coleshill, in favour of preserving the status quo. Instead, they concentrated effort and money upon works at Longford, demonstrating both its need to be brought up-to-date, and also their desire to improve their primary seat as an heirloom for posterity.

Decorative arts have historically often been considered as of lesser importance than the fine arts, due to their practical application and ornamental value, rendering them "essentially secondary presences rather than … principals."[119] However, at times, expenditure upon these items at Longford outstripped that on works of fine art, and, as this chapter has shown, bespoke furnishings were just as able to communicate ideas about the family's taste and sense of identity. The interiors and their contents worked as part of a whole to signify the family's social status, wealth, individuality and respect for tradition.

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cleaning paintings at Longford in the nineteenth century (see WSHC 1946/3/2A/4 Survey and cleaning of paintings at Longford Castle, 1830-1840). On Seguier, see A. Laing, 'Seguier, William (1772–1843)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25045 [accessed 26th January 2016]).

[118] H. Avray Tipping, 'Coleshill House. Berkshire. II' in *Country Life*, Vol. XLVI, 2nd August 1919, p. 145. On the furniture in situ at Coleshill at the end of the long eighteenth century, see BRO D/EPb/F30 A General Inventory of household goods [at Coleshill House] … 1833.

[119] S. Jervis, 'Preface' in Jervis and Dodd, *Roman Splendour English Arcadia*, p. ix

Chapter 4: Acquisitions

This chapter explores the acquisition of works of fine art by the Bouverie family during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, considering their methods of purchase, and their taste. Key case studies[1] are examined and contextualised in order to explore the degree to which the 1st Viscount Folkestone and 1st and 2nd Earls of Radnor conformed to eighteenth-century connoisseurial ideals, as currently understood, but also demonstrated what might be considered 'unusual' preferences and interests, reminiscent of longer-standing traditions of art collecting. The picture that emerges is one of a family with a range of tastes and motivations for collecting art, reflecting their multifaceted identity. However, it also points to a wider trend amongst eighteenth-century collectors to deviate from academic dictates and follow personal taste.

Of the three collectors at Longford during the eighteenth century, it was the 1st Viscount who seems to have acquired the highest number of works of art on the secondary market.[2] It appears that none of the three individuals who form the focus of this thesis collected art whilst travelling abroad on a Grand Tour around France and Italy.[3] The Grand Tour provided English collectors with the opportunity to purchase old master paintings and antique and Renaissance sculptures from the continent, and was also a way for 'newcomers' to educate themselves in 'correct taste' by accessing public and private art collections across Europe.[4] However, the Longford accounts demonstrate that the Bouverie family used other means, such as auctions and dealers, by which to acquire works of art.

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[1] See Appendix C for further acquisitions.

[2] The 1st Earl's acquisitions are not discussed at such great length in this chapter, as he made fewer purchases, and mostly via patronage rather than acquisition of extant works. Moreover, he often did not record the name of a painting nor the artist in his accounts, so less can be extrapolated from the evidence.

[3] Nancy Steele did suggest in her Family History that the 1st Viscount undertook "the customary Grand Tour … Guided by a Tutor … as the result of which he acquired, with obvious appreciation, a detailed knowledge of Art, Architecture" (Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre [hereafter WSHC] 1946/4/2A/6 Family History by Nancy Steele [16th century-c.2000]), but no contemporary evidence has been found to concur with this suggestion. It can reasonably be assumed from the eighteenth-century accounts that the majority of the three collectors' acquisitions were made in England, or through agents working abroad.

[4] G. Jackson-Stops with the assistance of F. Russell, 'Souvenirs of Italy' in G. Jackson-Stops (ed.) *The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985, p. 246

The Pre-History of the Longford Collection

Some of the family's first art acquisitions were made alongside Longford Castle itself, in 1717. Documents pertaining to the purchase of the castle indicate that pictures, amongst other contents, were acquired along with the building,[5] showing how parts of the Longford collection were, to an extent, 'ready-made'. This acquisition method was more akin to inheritance, evoking the passing on of a house with its art collection intact that would ideally occur when an incumbent died.

The identity of the pictures included in the purchase is uncertain, but Helen Matilda, Countess of Radnor, suggested that portraits by Sir Anthony Van Dyck of Gaston, Duke of Orléans (1608-1660), King Charles I (1600-1649) and his Queen Consort Henrietta Maria (1609-1669) (fig. 53) might have been amongst them.[6] Her assertion that a portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646-1723) of the Honourable Hugh Hare (1668-1707) – son of Longford's previous owner, Henry Hare, 2nd Baron Coleraine – was acquired in this way[7] appears plausible. This portrait recalls a period in Longford's own history, lending a sense of continuity to the art collection. The presence of such historical portraiture at Longford is significant, as it would have evoked a sense of longstanding membership of the aristocratic classes for the newly landed Bouverie family. Such paintings implied historical links with aristocrats and royalty through subject matter and provenance.

The Bouveries owned other historical portraits: some depicting ancestors; others that functioned through association to communicate their family history and Huguenot affiliations. For example, a small-scale painting of John Calvin (fig. 54), the sixteenth-century theologian whose writings first inspired the French Protestants, and a painting of his disciple, Théodore de Bèze (1519-1605), were present at the castle by the mid-eighteenth century.[8] Although its date of acquisition is unknown, a portrait

[5] WSHC 1946/4/2B/1 Volume of family history documents 1623-1834
[6] H. M. Radnor and W. Barclay Squire with a preface by Jacob, 6th Earl of Radnor, *Catalogue of the Pictures in the Collection of the Earl of Radnor*, 2 Parts, London: Privately Printed at the Chiswick Press, 1909, Part I, pp. 15, 22
[7] Radnor and Barclay Squire, *Catalogue of the Pictures in the Collection of the Earl of Radnor*, Part I, p. 18
[8] Both now attributed to the German or Swiss school (Christie, Manson & Woods Ltd., *Inventory of Selected Chattels: The Earl of Radnor, Longford Castle*, 3 Vols., 27th October 2010, Vol. I, p. 27).

of Sir Peter Young[9] (1544-1628), who was brought up in Calvinist Geneva, and who later acted as tutor to the future King James I of England and Scotland (1566-1625),[10] depicts a sitter whose life reflects the Bouveries' own Huguenot origins and subsequent transition to the heart of the English establishment.

Perhaps the most important pictorial reminder of the family's origins is the distinctly small-scale portrait of their forebear, Laurens Des Bouverie, by a follower of Cornelis Jonson (1593-1661) (fig. 4). This painting is mentioned at the head of a list of "Family Pictures of the Des Bouveries at Longford" made in 1748, which culminates with a portrait of the 1st Viscount,[11] suggesting that the family saw and celebrated Laurens as their 'founding father'. That his portrait was documented and displayed in the castle suggests that it was valued as a statement of the family's origins. Aristocrats saw family portraits as an important inheritance that they were obliged to respect and care for; for instance by cataloguing them so as not to lose track of the sitters' identities.[12] The Bouveries' attitude to their portrait collection was therefore in line with this ideal, even at this relatively early stage in their social ascension, in that they ensured the sitters' names and biographies were carefully recorded.

The 1st Viscount's Acquisitions: 1724-1760

The French School

Some of the most art-historically significant acquisitions made by the 1st Viscount occurred early on in his collecting career. He acquired two sets of paintings by Claude Lorrain and a pair of paintings by Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665) when the Longford art collection was still in its infancy. The first acquisition was not a

[9] Previously attributed to Federico Zuccaro (1542-1609); currently attributed to a follower of Michiel Jansz. Van Miereveldt (1567-1641) (Christie, *Inventory of Selected Chattels*, Vol. I, p. 145).
[10] P. Hopewell, *Saint Cross: England's Oldest Almshouse*, Chichester: Phillimore, 1995, p. 80 and pers. comm. A. Ormerod to the author via S. Avery-Quash, 14th September 2014
[11] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1 Early catalogues of paintings at Longford 1748-1828
[12] K. Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006, pp. 150-151

purchase, but a gift. *Moses and the Burning Bush* and *Ezekiel Weeping on the Ruins of Tyre*[13] by Claude had come to the 1st Viscount from his first father-in-law, Bartholomew Clarke (dates unknown), at some point after the former's marriage in 1724.[14] This example of gift transfer might well have been intended to materially entrench good relations between the two recently enjoined families. As Arjun Appadurai has argued, "gifts link things to persons and embed the flow of things in the flow of social relations".[15] The union was also commemorated through portrait commissions, to be explored in Chapter 5. The acquisition may have been precipitated by, or contributed to the 1st Viscount's taste for the acknowledged masters of the French school, perhaps spurring him on to seek out other art by Claude.

In 1737, the 1st Viscount bought *Pastoral Landscape with the Arch of Titus* and *Coast Scene with the Landing of Aeneas*: paintings by Claude that have often been titled 'Morning' and 'Evening' (figs. 55 and 56). They emanated from the collection of Jeanne Baptiste d'Albert du Luynes, Countess of Verrue (1670-1736), from where they were sold in Paris.[16] A transaction is listed in the 1st Viscount's accounts in November 1739 for "Mr. Hoare's bill for two Landskips of Claude Loraine's £417:00:0, charges in France £4:17:9 charges at ye Custom-house here £5:19:0".[17] The high level of expenditure involved in this acquisition indicates the significance that the 1st Viscount attached to these paintings. In procuring these two sets of important pictures by Claude within the space of fifteen years, he showed himself to be a serious art collector, despite the infancy of his art collection.

Paintings by Poussin, entitled *The Adoration of the Golden Calf*[18] and *The Passage of the Red Sea*[19] were acquired from Paris in 1741 for £481 5s. and related costs (figs. 57

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[13] Mertoun House, Scotland.
[14] M. Roethlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Paintings*, 2 Vols., London: Zwemmer, 1961, Vol. I, p. 383
[15] A. Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value' in A. Appadurai (ed.) *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, pp. 11-12. The 2nd Earl of Radnor later sold these paintings. Thus, although these paintings were originally gifted to the family, they were indeed aware, and ultimately capitalized upon what Appadurai terms their "commodity potential" (see Appadurai, 'Introduction' pp. 11-14).
[16] Roethlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, Vol. I, p. 233
[17] WSHC 1946/3/1B/1 House book [of household and personal expenses of Sir Jacob Bouverie] 1723-1745
[18] The National Gallery, London (http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/nicolas-poussin-the-adoration-of-the-golden-calf [accessed 30th March 2015)]
[19] The National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne (http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/4271/ [accessed 30th March 2015])

and 58).[20] Paintings by these two masters were imported at a "steady rate" into England in the early eighteenth century.[21] The sums paid for the French works were much higher than for those from other schools. A *Return from Shooting* by David Teniers the Younger, for example, was bought by the 1st Viscount in 1748 for only £84.[22] The disparity reflects not only the esteem in which Claude and Poussin were held by the early eighteenth-century art market, but also the importance ascribed to them by the 1st Viscount as an individual. To establish himself as a collector during this period, he needed pieces of the requisite quality and fashionable status in his art collection.

According to Humphrey Wine, Claude, Poussin and Gaspard Dughet (1615-1675) were the three most popular French artists in eighteenth-century England, due predominantly to the perceived affinities between their output and Italian painting.[23] Works by this triumvirate comprise the principal French paintings at Longford, indicating that the 1st Viscount adhered closely to popular taste in making these early acquisitions.[24] Moreover, he patronised contemporary English artists whose work complimented and reinforced this taste, such as John Wootton (c.1682-1764) and George Lambert (1700-1765), both of whom had been influenced by Claude.[25]

The 1st Viscount thereby situated his art collection alongside those of other important collectors. For example, Thomas Coke, 1st Earl of Leicester, displayed seven works by Claude in the Landscape Room at Holkham Hall, Norfolk.[26] The painter Sir James Thornhill (1675/6-1734) owned Poussin's *Tancred and Erminia*,[27] and the banker Henry Hoare II (1705-1785) of Stourhead, Wiltshire owned Poussin's

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[20] WSHC 1946/3/1B/1

[21] D. Howard, 'Claude and English Art' in Arts Council of Great Britain and the Northern Arts Association, *The Art of Claude Lorrain*, London: Hayward Gallery, 1969, p. 9. Humphrey Wine has also noted that in 1722, import tariffs on goods from France were reduced (H. Wine, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Seventeenth Century French Paintings*, London: Yale University Press and the National Gallery Company, 2001, p. xiii), contributing to the English market for French art.

[22] WSHC 1946/3/1B/2 House book [of household and personal expenses of Sir Jacob Bouverie and William, 1st Earl of Radnor] 1745-1768

[23] See Wine, *Seventeenth Century French Paintings*, pp. xi-xiv

[24] The 1st Viscount bought a landscape by 'Gaspar Poussin' (a name by which Dughet was known) at a sale in 1738 (WSHC 1946/3/1B/1).

[25] Howard, 'Claude and English Art', p. 9

[26] F. Haskell, 'The British as Collectors' in Jackson-Stops (ed.) *Treasure Houses of Britain*, p. 53

[27] The Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham. See J. Richardson, 'The Essay on the Art of Criticism' in *The Works of Jonathan Richardson*, London: T. Davies, 1773, pp. 192-200.

The Rape of the Sabines.[28] In 1758 Hoare purchased paintings by Dughet, which were considered "the next best thing to a genuine Claude, which he desperately wanted, but only later obtained".[29] The fact that works by Claude already hung at Longford at this time suggests that, significantly, its collection was ahead of that of nearby Stourhead at this stage in the eighteenth century.

The Italian School

The 1st Viscount also bought works from the highly esteemed Italian school, often with the help of agents and dealers, or at auction. His accounts show a repayment to his son for "what he paid for a picture of Guido"[30] in 1750, and a payment for "A Magdalen finely painted by Guido",[31] bought at auction in 1756 alongside some Dutch art and a painting sold as a Claude, which he deemed to have been misattributed, but bought regardless.[32] Guido Reni's (1575-1642) output was held in high regard by many collectors, despite the preference of academic theorists for Annibale Carracci (1560-1609) and Poussin, amongst others.[33]

The 1st Viscount made a significant and costly purchase from the Italian school in 1741, when he paid "Mr. Hoare Claude Auberts bill, being money remitted to Rome for a Guercino",[34] a sum that came to £146 12s.[35] Here, the 1st Viscount may have been influenced by his cousin, John Bouverie, who at the time was travelling on the continent amassing a collection of drawings by Guercino (1591-1666).[36] The input of a dealer may have facilitated and smoothed the way for this acquisition. Similarly, in 1745, the 1st Viscount had paid a bill "for ye. Prime cost of a Landskip of

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[28] Wine, *Seventeenth Century French Paintings*, pp. xiii-xiv
[29] A. Laing, 'Stourhead: Illustrated List of Pictures and Sculpture', National Trust, 2010, p. 30 https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/documents/stourhead---illustrated-list-of-paintings-and-sculptures.pdf (accessed 15th September 2016)
[30] Current whereabouts unknown.
[31] Current whereabouts unknown.
[32] WSHC 1946/3/1B/2
[33] See D. S. Pepper, *Guido Reni: A Complete Catalogue of his Works with an Introductory Text*, Oxford: Phaidon, 1984, pp. 46-47. For more on the artist's *fortuna critica*, see R. E. Wolf, 'Guido Reni in Favour and Out: Three Centuries of Critical Comment and Appreciation' in S. Caroselli (ed.) *Guido Reni, 1575-1642*, Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1988, pp. 327-355.
[34] Current whereabouts unknown.
[35] WSHC 1946/3/1B/1
[36] WSHC 1946/4/2A/6. British Museum.

Zucarelli's"[37] to "Mr Smith of Venice" – most probably Consul Smith (c.1682-1770).[38] Iain Pears has argued that, to avoid "personal preference" outweighing "good taste", the "responsible collector" sometimes felt obliged to turn to those who could give advice on artistic matters.[39] For instance, alongside his role as painter, engraver and art dealer, Arthur Pond also guided clients "through the *terra malcognita* of continental art."[40]

Enlisting the help of others to procure works of art from abroad demonstrates the 1st Viscount's eagerness to acquire works of the Italian school. Although a wide range of artistic interests was not uncommon amongst eighteenth-century collectors, many aristocrats did focus upon the French and Italian schools admired in recently translated, influential continental art-theoretical texts, setting themselves apart from those collectors who acquired cheaper Dutch imports in an apparently less discriminating manner.[41] Continental art theory, upon which Anthony Ashley-Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury's (1671-1713) writing on taste had relied, placed Dutch art below Italian in order of preferment: the latter school became equated with 'good taste'.[42] Harry Mount has summarised that it had "become possible for a collector to show his taste not only by buying Italian art but also by showing less interest in Dutch art."[43] As will be shown, however, once the 1st Viscount had proven himself to be a serious collector with the correct taste, by making these prestigious and costly purchases, he supplemented them with a range of items that spoke of a plurality of other interests.

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[37] Current whereabouts unknown.
[38] WSHC 1946/3/1B/1. For more on Consul Smith, see J. G. Links, *Canaletto*, second edition, London: Phaidon, 1994, chapters 3-11 and B. Ford, 'The Englishman in Italy' in Jackson-Stops (ed.) *Treasure Houses of Britain*, p. 49.
[39] I. Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England 1680-1768*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988, pp. 162-163
[40] L. Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London: The Rise of Arthur Pond*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1983, pp. 60-61
[41] C. Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson: Art Theorist of the English Enlightenment*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2000, pp. 12, 16-17
[42] H. Mount, 'The Reception of Dutch Genre Painting in England 1695-1829', unpublished PhD thesis, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 1991, pp. 48, 53
[43] Mount, 'Reception of Dutch Genre Painting in England', p. 55

Bronze Sculptures

The Longford collection does not contain a large collection of antique sculpture, a fact that one might attribute to the family's lack of art-collecting travel. After all, it has been noted that an interest in this genre "lay at the very centre of Grand Tour taste".[44] As will be shown in Chapter 6, some classical busts were present at Longford in the late eighteenth century, which may have been those imported from Italy in 1742: a bill "from Leghorn for ye. bustos" amounting to £25 11s. 4d. appears in the accounts.[45] Scholars have also noted, however, the number of small-scale sculptures – often copies – that were acquired by Grand Tourists,[46] and these pieces co-existed in many collections alongside authentic and larger-scale antique sculpture, as at Wilton House, Wiltshire.[47] The 1st Viscount, rather than buying such pieces on the continent, acquired a number of bronze statuettes by eminent artists at auctions in London in the late 1730s and 1740s.

For example, the Longford accounts list the purchase of "a Bronze of a Bacchus by M. Angelo, & of Antinous its Companion (Sr. Andrew Fontaine reckons them done by Soldani)".[48] These were bought together with Northern paintings and a further bronze sculpture from Robert Bragge's (fl.1741-1780) sale in March 1744.[49] From the 1720s onwards, art dealers such as Bragge would visit the continent and bring back art to sell to English buyers.[50] The 1st Viscount took advantage of the opportunities presented by these middlemen. There is no evidence as to whether he used an agent to bid on his behalf at the auction, or attended the sale in person, but to have used an agent would not have been unusual.

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[44] G. Jackson-Stops with the assistance of F. Russell, 'The Sculpture Rotunda' in Jackson-Stops (ed.) *Treasure Houses of Britain*, p. 288
[45] WSHC 1946/3/1B/1
[46] See C. Sicca and A. Yarrington, 'Introduction' in C. Sicca and A. Yarrington (eds.) *The Lustrous Trade: Material Culture and the History of Sculpture in England and Italy, c.1700-c.1860*, London and New York: Leicester University Press, 2000, pp. 3-4 and F. Martin, 'Camillo Rusconi in English Collections' in Sicca and Yarrington (eds.) *Lustrous Trade*, pp. 50-51.
[47] See C. Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000, p. 181 and F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981.
[48] WSHC 1946/3/1B/1. Current whereabouts of the latter unknown.
[49] For more on Bragge's career, see Pears, *Discovery of Painting*, pp. 92-93.
[50] D. Lyna, 'In Search of a British Connection: Flemish Dealers on the London Art Market and the Taste for Continental Painting (1750-1800)' in C. Gould and S. Mesplède (eds.) *Marketing Art in the British Isles, 1700 to the Present*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2012, p. 103

The presence of the bronzes at Longford reflects popular taste. The *Belvedere Antinous*, for example, was one of the "most highly esteemed statues to be exported from the papal states".[51] Furthermore, Englishmen looking to purchase copies of antique sculptures whilst on a Grand Tour would often acquire works by the Italian sculptor and medallist Massimiliano Soldani (1656-1740).[52] The 1st Viscount's description of the bronzes in his records suggests that he was particularly interested in their attribution, and also that he took into account the judgements of other connoisseurs. Sir Andrew Fountaine (1676-1753) was a famed art collector who made a number of Grand Tours, sometimes collecting on behalf of others such as the Pembroke family of Wilton. He was considered "the equal of any Italian dealer":[53] a venerable figure in the eighteenth-century art world whose opinion would have been well worth listening to.

In the eighteenth century, the ways in which bronzes were valued increasingly became predicated upon connoisseurship, assigning attributions, and conceiving of them in aesthetic terms, by means of harmonious display in pairs and groups.[54] Bronzes were highly regarded by fashionable collectors, but they did also speak to older traditions, blurring the distinction between virtuosic and connoisseurial collecting. The 1st Viscount's acquisitions may also have been inspired by the seventeenth-century tradition of collecting bronze groups as "a significant and distinctive part of the *Kunstkammer*".[55] In the early modern Medici collections, small-scale statuettes were valued for their "aura of preciousness" and were "to be observed carefully at an intimate distance".[56] Particularly important to a close-up appreciation of bronzes was their materiality, with collectors storing the statuettes

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[51] Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, p. 67

[52] C. Avery, 'John Cheere at Marble Hill' in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 116, No. 858, September 1974, p. 551. On Soldani, to whom many bronzes were attributed by eighteenth-century sale catalogues, see Jackson-Stops (ed.) *Treasure Houses of Britain*, cat. 215, p. 293.

[53] A. Moore, 'Fountaine, Sir Andrew (1676-1753)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9994 (accessed 1st December 2014)

[54] M. Baker, *Figured in Marble: The Making and Viewing of Eighteenth-Century Sculpture*, London: V&A Publications, 2000, p. 145. See also M. Baker, 'Some Eighteenth-Century Frameworks for the Renaissance Bronze: Historiography, Authorship, and Production' in D. Pincus (ed.) *Small Bronzes in the Renaissance*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001, pp. 211-221.

[55] Baker, *Figured in Marble*, p. 145. See also D. Pincus, 'Introduction' in Pincus (ed.) *Small Bronzes in the Renaissance*, p. 12.

[56] J. T. Paoletti, 'Familiar Objects: Sculptural Types in the Collections of the Early Medici' in S. Blake McHam (ed.) *Looking at Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 97

"on their desks to hold and to stroke in tactile pleasure."[57] Renaissance collectors valued statuettes' "demonstrations of technical virtuosity and artistic imagination",[58] and an appreciation of the design and workmanship of metal wares persisted in the eighteenth century.[59]

These bronzes thus fit with other works of art at Longford that could be especially appreciated for their technical brilliance, and their potential for close contemplation, such as objects of *vertu*, small-scale Dutch paintings, and portrait miniatures. Unlike antique sculpture, which, despite its popularity in early seventeenth-century collections, had fallen prey to something of a fashionable craze following the discoveries at Herculaneum and Pompeii,[60] these bronzes also continued to speak of earlier forms of art appreciation.

Scholarship has previously interpreted virtuosic and connoisseurial traditions of collecting as opposing conceptual frameworks, arguing that the eighteenth century saw the former give way to the latter, with art collecting at this time "chang[ing] in purpose and use."[61] John Brewer noted that the connoisseur was guided by knowledge and "critical evaluation", whereas the Renaissance virtuoso had been "impulsive", led by "wonder" and "delight" instead.[62] Curiosity, scholars have argued, became displaced by wider ideals of taste and aesthetics.[63] Although some historians have followed the line of contemporary satirists in arguing that the virtuoso "went the way of the alchemist and the astrologer … consigned to dusty irrelevance by Enlightenment values that favoured entirely new approaches to collecting",[64] recent reassessments of this transition have suggested that the perceived boundary between the two was less clearly defined than previously

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[57] S. Blake McHam, 'Introduction' in Blake McHam (ed.) *Looking at Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, p. 13
[58] J. Kenseth, 'The Virtue of Littleness: Small-Scale Sculptures of the Italian Renaissance' in Blake McHam (ed.) *Looking at Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, p. 134
[59] H. Clifford, 'A Commerce with Things: The Value of Precious Metalwork in Early Modern England' in M. Berg and H. Clifford (eds.) *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650-1850*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1999, pp. 146-148, 155
[60] Jackson-Stops with assistance from Russell, 'Sculpture Rotunda', p. 288
[61] Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London*, p. 5
[62] J. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997, p. 256. See also Pears, *Discovery of Painting*, pp. 158-160.
[63] A. MacGregor, 'The Cabinet of Curiosities in Seventeenth-Century Britain' in O. Impey and K. Arnold (eds.) *The Origin of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Europe*, 1985, p. 158
[64] A. MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007, p. 12

supposed. For instance, Mount has challenged the prevailing distinction between the "rigorous" connoisseur and the "indiscriminate" virtuoso.[65] Craig Ashley Hanson, moreover, has argued that that "what has gone unrecognised is the extent to which … virtuosic culture … provided the basis on which a late Georgian art world could be erected", through an examination of the figure of Dr. Richard Mead (1673-1754), a physician, philanthropist and polymath.[66]

Such work therefore calls for caution in the way in which individual eighteenth-century collectors are assessed. The Bouveries' acquisitions suggest that, whilst the family had tendencies towards connoisseurial methods, they also took an interest in 'curiosities', defined in a broad sense to encompass works of technical brilliance, unusual or rare subject matter, or on a small scale,[67] supporting the recent proposition that this transition was less clear-cut than has previously been proposed.

The acquisition of small-scale bronzes also hints at the way in which the 1st Viscount thought holistically about his art collection at Longford. In 1740, he purchased "two casts of the Medici Vases"[68] and "the Rape by Nessus the Centaur … & two River Gods" at a sale of works of art and curiosities previously belonging to Charles Montagu, 1st Earl of Halifax (1661-1715) (figs. 59 and 60).[69] These bronzes appear in the list made by the 1st Viscount in his account book, discussed in Chapter 3, of items "Layed out on the Gallery at Longford", and they were thus presumably acquired for this space.[70] Notably, this list does not include paintings, but rather items of furniture; furnishings such as carpets and damask; and sculptural commissions, including busts and chimneypieces. It therefore implies that these bronze sculptures were considered, above all, as part of the interior decoration.

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[65] H. Mount, 'The Monkey with the Magnifying Glass: Constructions of the Connoisseur in Eighteenth-Century Britain' in *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 2006, p. 169
[66] C. A. Hanson, *The English Virtuoso: Art, Medicine, and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009, p. 195
[67] The Oxford English Dictionary defines a 'curiosity' as having "careful or elaborate workmanship; perfection of construction … the quality of being curious or interesting from novelty or strangeness" ('curiosity, n.', OED Online, Oxford University Press, December 2014, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/46038?redirectedFrom=curiosity [accessed 20th February 2015]).
[68] Current whereabouts unknown.
[69] WSHC 1946/3/1B/1. See also 'A catalogue of the entire and valuable collection of paintings, bronzes, busts in porphry and marble and other curiosities of Charles Earl of Halifax' (London 1740) in *The Art World in Britain 1660 to 1735*, http://artworld.york.ac.uk (accessed 1st December 2014).
[70] WSHC 1946/3/1B/1

In March 1739, the 1st Viscount purchased "2 Groupes of Lions bronze … 2 horses bronze"[71] along with a snuffbox, a silver counter-dish, two ivory baskets, and a marble table at auction.[72] The range of items bought suggests that the 1st Viscount acquired and approached items of fine and decorative art in tandem, seeing them as part of a whole. In relation to this transaction, Malcolm Baker has proposed that the 1st Viscount was disinterested in the authorship of the bronzes, owing to the sparse description he afforded them in the account entry, implying instead that his interest, like that of auctioneers and other collectors, lay primarily in their decorative potential, rather than their connoisseurial value.[73] Significantly, a subsequent transcription of the sale catalogue reveals that the lions had been described as "by the famous Girardon."[74] Although the attribution to the sculptor François Girardon (1628-1715) does not match today's,[75] the fact that the name of the sculptor to whom the bronzes were attributed was included in the sale catalogue but omitted by the 1st Viscount in his description does support Baker's proposal that he saw these artworks primarily as items of interior decoration, rather than as fine art *per se*. Although other account entries relating to the purchase of bronzes, such as the aforementioned reference to Soldani, refutes the idea that this was always the 1st Viscount's attitude, it is important to note the evident range of motivational factors in his collecting practice.

The Northern Schools

The extent to which the Longford art collection, in comparison to those of other contemporary British collectors, is characterised by a wealth of Northern art, invites dedicated investigation. Of the paintings the Bouveries bought on the secondary market and which can be identified in the accounts from our period, it appears that

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[71] Current whereabouts unknown.
[72] WSHC 1946/3/1B/1
[73] Baker, *Figured in Marble*, pp. 149-151
[74] See 'A catalogue of Mons Beauvais's collection of antique marble and brass figures, bustos, models, bass-relievos … &c by him collected at Rome, Florence, Naples and other parts of Italy' (London 1739) in *The Art World in Britain 1660 to 1735*, http://artworld.york.ac.uk (accessed 1st December 2014).
[75] Baker suggested that they were made by Antonio Susini (1558-1624) or Giovanni Francesco Susini (c.1585-1653) after Giambologna (1529-1608) (Baker, *Figured in Marble*, p. 149).

approximately two thirds were from the Northern schools, with the remainder from the French and Italian.

Despite the articulation of connoisseurial ideals in the eighteenth century, there was a wide discrepancy between theory and practice. Sometimes these "departures from the 'norm'" were understood to be the result of a lack of availability, or other practical factors.[76] But, often, what collectors bought represented a deviation from those dictates of received art theory,[77] which placed Italian art over Dutch art. In particular, from 1760 onwards, this increasingly gave way to new ideals expounded by collectors, dealers and writers.[78] Many prestigious art collectors of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries collected Dutch art, such as Sir Lawrence Dundas (c.1710-1781), and King George IV (1760-1832).[79] Dutch painting had, however, been more fashionable in France in the early eighteenth century, with a range of dealers playing a role in its promotion and dispersal,[80] and some art theorists and biographers, such as André Félibien (1619-1695) and Roger de Piles (1635-1709), contributed to the legitimation of this taste in their writing on Dutch artists represented in French collections.[81]

The 1st Viscount was the Bouveries' most prolific collector of Dutch art. For instance, at a 1744 sale of pictures and bronzes purchased from "the most Celebrated Cabinets in *Italy*, *France*, and *Flanders*", he purchased "Ye Arch Duke Leopold's Cabinet of Flemish pictures by Old Frank";[82] "Men at Bowls by David

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[76] F. Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art: Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France*, Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1979, second edition, 1980, pp. 73, 77

[77] Francis Haskell has argued that in mid eighteenth-century France, most admitted that "Dutch and Flemish cabinet pictures were more popular with most collectors than large-scale Italian paintings of the Renaissance or Baroque periods" (Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art*, p. 5).

[78] Mount, 'Reception of Dutch Genre Painting in England', pp. 113-114

[79] See Mount, 'Reception of Dutch Genre Painting in England', pp. 114-116 and D. Sutton, 'The Dundas Pictures' in *Apollo*, September 1967, pp. 204-5. On collectors of Dutch art, see also J. Stourton and C. Sebag-Montefiore, *The British as Art Collectors: From the Tudors to the Present*, London: Scala, 2012, p. 108.

[80] E. Korthals Altes, 'Félibien, de Piles and Dutch Seventeenth-Century Paintings in France' in *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, Vol. 34, No. 3/4, 2009-10, p. 196. King Louis XIV of France (1638-1715) and Philippe II, Duke of Orléans (1674-1723) had large and important collections of Dutch art (Korthals Altes, 'Félibien, de Piles and Dutch Seventeenth-Century Paintings in France', pp. 197, 200).

[81] Korthals Altes, 'Félibien, de Piles and Dutch Seventeenth-Century Paintings in France', pp. 197, 209. There is evidence that Félibien was read by the Bouverie family, as inventories of the paintings note his opinions (see WSHC 1946/3/2A/1).

[82] Current whereabouts unknown.

Teniers" (fig. 61); "Figures Scating by Old Brueghell";[83] and "Inside of a Church by Van Cleve",[84] amongst other items. The number of items acquired suggests that his priority was to gather a group of good quality paintings to help establish his art collection and status as a collector. This contrasts with the habits of his successors, who generally focused on acquiring key pieces on separate occasions.

This purchase of a substantial number of paintings at auction could simply reflect the nature of this method of acquisition, wherein the buyer is faced with an array of items that are only temporarily available, and thus has less time to choose. However, the 1st Viscount's selection does not appear to have been indiscriminate, as in the case of collectors who bought *en bloc*. Ink crosses have been added next to certain pictures in a copy of the sale catalogue, and pencil and ink annotations recording prices (fig. 62).[85] These suggest either that he went to the sale informed, hoping to buy works by favoured painters, or that he wished to record prices as a guide to future collecting.

The sale also shows that the 1st Viscount was keen to buy both highly esteemed and relatively expensive Dutch art, such as the Teniers, which fetched £40 8s. 6d., and less costly or sought-after pieces, such as the painting attributed to Joos Van Cleve (1511-1540), which only reached £1 5s.[86] Dutch art could be divided up into different genres, some of which were more highly regarded than others, particularly at different times in the eighteenth century.[87] Despite derision amongst theorists for paintings with a high level of finish, due to their evocation of the mechanical aspect of painting, the fact that this quality was emphasised in the description of many of

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[83] Now attributed to Hendrick Avercamp (1585-1634) (Christie, *Inventory of Selected Chattels*, Vol. I, p. 15).
[84] Now attributed to Hendrick Cornelisz. Van Vliet (1611-1675) (Christie, *Inventory of Selected Chattels*, Vol. I, p. 144).
[85] WSHC 1946/3/4A/1 Auction catalogue 1743-44. On prices being listed in catalogues, see B. Miyamoto, "Making Pictures Marketable': Expertise and the Georgian Art Market' in Gould and Mesplède (eds.) *Marketing Art in the British Isles*, pp. 125-126.
[86] Using prices as an index for popularity can be problematic, however, due to other factors involved, such as "availability, authenticity, and condition" (Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art*, p. 5). Most pictures sold at auction usually reached £1-10 (Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London*, p. 64).
[87] For a detailed account of attitudes to different types of Dutch art, see Mount, 'Reception of Dutch Genre Painting in England', Parts 1 and 2. On Joshua Reynolds' changing attitudes to Dutch art in the later eighteenth century, as expressed in *The Idler*, see H. Mount, 'Introduction' in J. Reynolds, *A Journey to Flanders and Holland*, ed. H. Mount, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. xlvii.

these pieces when listed in auction catalogues suggests that this characteristic was, in fact, attractive to collectors.[88]

Teniers was admired over other artists working in the 'low genre', because his works showed a higher level of finish:[89] Sir Joshua Reynolds was later to praise the artist's "elegance and precision of pencil" in his Sixth Discourse.[90] Mount has argued that an appreciation of the technical aspects of highly finished Northern paintings was demonstrative of social status in the eighteenth century, as "they could only be appreciated by a sophisticated gaze that was able to look beyond their often mundane or vulgar subjects and focus instead on how they were painted."[91] Mount has also suggested that Bragge appreciated works with a high level of finish,[92] which may account for the presence of the Teniers – despite its 'low' subject matter – amongst the consignments.

The acquisition of Dutch works also attests to the 1st Viscount's interest in curiosities and virtuosic attitudes towards art. In 1744, he paid £7 17s. 6d. for acquiring and cleaning a flower piece on copper by Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625) from the second-generation picture dealer and restorer Isaac Collivoe (fig. 63).[93] Simon Schama has noted that Dutch still lifes such as this contained a "representation of contingency" that acted, like a *memento mori*, as a counter to their "insistence on the supremacy of the material world".[94] Art dealing with the notion of *vanitas* was common within *kunstkammers*.[95] The acquisition of a painting that combined the *vanitas* tradition with a technical brilliance, which, as we have seen, was valued by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century collectors alike, demonstrates the confluence of virtuosic and connoisseurial approaches to art in the Bouveries' collecting.

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[88] Mount, 'Monkey with the Magnifying Glass', pp. 177-178
[89] Mount, 'Reception of Dutch Genre Painting in England', p. 56
[90] J. Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, ed. R. Wark, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1959, p. 109
[91] Mount, 'Monkey with the Magnifying Glass', pp. 178-179
[92] Mount, 'Monkey with the Magnifying Glass', p. 177
[93] WSHC 1946/3/1B/1
[94] S. Schama, 'Perishable Commodities: Dutch Still-Life Painting and the 'Empire of Things" in J. Brewer and R. Porter (eds.) *Consumption and the World of Goods*, London and New York: Routledge, 1993, p. 480
[95] MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment*, p. 52

Circumstantial reasons must be taken into account when analysing these acquisitions. The sudden availability of Dutch art, in comparison to other schools, in the 1740s[96] may well also have been a factor, for example. The 1st Viscount had only recently acquired Longford Castle, moreover, and was faced with the simple practical need to fill its walls. Turning to personal motivations, his tour of the Netherlands and Northern France in the 1720s, connected with his interest in his family origins, may also have precipitated a desire to collect Dutch and Flemish art to express his heritage.

An interest in the Dutch school could also sometimes be associated with 'nouveau riche' taste. Pond, of City of London origins, had a propensity for guiding men who were acquiring land and titles on the back of financial success.[97] Pond's admiration for Northern art may have been a response to the tastes of his clients in the 1740s, or indeed may have been the cause of their preferences.[98] Merchants' appreciation of Dutch art might have been linked to the relatively high rate of return it carried as an investment.[99] However, the *memento mori* function of Dutch painting could perhaps help to acquit collectors from accusations of luxury. These associations may have been helpful for the Bouveries, moving from commerce to landownership, but who simultaneously may have wished to show that they did not have ideas above their station, and were prepared to celebrate, rather than mask their origins.

Ken Arnold has suggested that the concepts of taste and discrimination evolved to assuage what some saw as "moral dangers lurking in the indulgent behaviour" of the connoisseur.[100] 'Taste' was central to the consumption of material goods during the eighteenth century. It became a vehicle through which one's discernment, status, and sense of social decorum could be conveyed; an answer to the problematic relationship that existed between wealth – with its associations of corrupting luxury

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[96] Possibly this was due to war having disrupted trade from Italy and France (Mount, 'Reception of Dutch Genre Painting', p. 64).
[97] Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London*, p. 58. The 1st Viscount's use of Pond's services in the 1730s will be discussed in Chapter 5.
[98] Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London*, pp. 60-61
[99] Pears, *Discovery of Painting*, pp. 103-104
[100] K. Arnold, *Cabinets for the Curious: Looking Back at Early English Museums*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006, p. 243

– and virtue.[101] With the eighteenth-century blurring of social boundaries, the concept of taste stood in for absent sumptuary laws in articulating one's status.[102] Connoisseurs could be criticised for following fashions, and their interest in attributions denigrated for its association with art's financial value.[103] In ensuring that they demonstrated the requisite taste, through both their acquisition of French and Italian old masters *and* their subscription to older traditions of collecting, the Bouveries were able to avoid accusations of luxury or financial motivation that might have been precipitated by their mercantile background.

Holbein

By 1750, the 1st Viscount had not spent significant amounts of money on individual works of art outside of the canonised French and Italian schools. This may have reflected the sheer cost of purchasing paintings by Claude, Poussin and Guercino in comparison to schools for which there was less demand, but also suggests that the 1st Viscount was only prepared to invest large sums in works of art that were certain to be admired. However, in 1754, he did spend £100 apiece on two paintings by the sixteenth-century German painter Hans Holbein the Younger (1497-1543). His work represented a more eccentric taste for the time. The 1st Viscount purchased portraits of *Erasmus*[104] and *Aegidius*[105] from the sale of pictures belonging to the aforementioned Mead for the sum of £205 16s. (figs. 64 and 65).[106] The specialist art auctioneer Abraham Langford (1711-1774) conducted this sale at his premises at the Great Piazza, Covent Garden.[107]

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[101] J. Styles and A. Vickery, 'Introduction' in J. Styles and A. Vickery (eds.) *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America 1700-1830*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006, pp. 14-16. On the luxury debate, see M. Berg and E. Eger, 'The Rise and Fall of the Luxury Debates' in M. Berg (ed.) *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, pp. 7-27 and Baker, *Figured in Marble*, p. 119 and chapter 10, fn. 3.
[102] See discussion of anxiety over social change in Pears, *Discovery of Painting*, pp. 3-15.
[103] Mount, 'Monkey with the Magnifying Glass', pp. 171, 176
[104] On long term loan to the National Gallery, London (http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/hans-holbein-the-younger-erasmus [accessed 30th March 2015]).
[105] Currently attributed to Quentin Matsys (1466-1530) (Christie, *Inventory of Selected Chattels*, Vol. I, p. 13).
[106] WSHC 1946/3/1B/2
[107] On Langford, see Pears, *Discovery of Painting*, pp. 63-64.

Holbein was revered in his own time,[108] and later attracted the attention of one of the first great English art collectors, the 'Collector Earl', Thomas Howard, 21st Earl of Arundel (1585-1646). However, the latter referred to his interest in the artist as "foolish curiosity" in a letter of 1619 to the agent Dudley Carleton, 1st Viscount Dorchester (1573-1642).[109] Arundel had once owned the *Erasmus*, as he had other items in Mead's collection:[110] its future owners could thus be associated with an eminent and pioneering Stuart art collector.[111] Mead himself had wished to emphasise the links between himself, Arundel, and other "seventeenth-century virtuosi",[112] and this sale provided an opportunity for the 1st Viscount to follow in their footsteps. Mead was himself a prestigious art collector who had opened up his collection to artists, and engaged in artistic philanthropy, promoting the Foundling Hospital, an institution with which he was associated.[113] The 1st Viscount, as a governor of the Foundling, and, in the same year as this sale, instrumental in the foundation of the Society of Arts, may well have wished to associate himself with Mead's connoisseurial and philanthropic image.

It is significant that Hanson has suggested that Mead "fits squarely within the virtuosic tradition of the seventeenth century",[114] in light of the Bouveries' interest in curiosities. Hanson noted "the privileged status still afforded objects of curiosity, even in the mid-eighteenth century",[115] and Mead's collection might have helped to legitimate the Bouveries' interest in this type of art. As a non-aristocratic collector, merging virtuosity and connoisseurship, Mead could have provided a template for the 1st Viscount's own practice, alongside the received aristocratic models. In purchasing these paintings, the 1st Viscount thus revealed a range of collecting

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[108] See S. Foister, A. Roy and M. Wyld, 'Introduction' in S. Foister, A. Roy and M. Wyld, *Making and Meaning: Holbein's Ambassadors*, London: National Gallery Publications and Yale University Press, 1997, p. 12.
[109] See M. F. S. Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence, and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, "Father of Vertu in England"*, Cambridge, 1921, p. 162 and S. Foister, *Holbein and England*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004, pp. 267-269.
[110] S. Foister, *Holbein in England*, London: Tate Publishing, 2006, p. 24
[111] Arundel's collection was described as "celebrated" by the art dealer William Buchanan in a letter of 1804 (H. Brigstocke (ed.) *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade: 100 Letters to his Agents in London and Italy*, London: published privately for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1982, p. 293).
[112] Hanson, *English Virtuoso*, pp. 178, 182
[113] See A. Guerrini, 'Mead, Richard (1673-1754) in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, online edition, January 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18467 (accessed 29th September 2014).
[114] Hanson, *English Virtuoso*, p. 161
[115] Hanson, *English Virtuoso*, p. 174

ambitions, as well as his learning and historical concerns. For instance, in 1759, he bought "Life of Erasmus by Bortin", suggesting that he was interested in learning about the history of this sitter.[116]

The 1st Viscount's progression and confidence in the art market by this date can be gleaned from the calibre of the Mead sale, evinced by the other collectors who also bought from it. Works of art were purchased for William 'Alderman' Beckford,[117] who provides an interesting point of comparison with the 1st Viscount. Beckford established a parallel collection of old masters: again not via a Grand Tour, but by purchasing from auctions during the 1740s and 1750s.[118] There are also clear similarities between the lives of the two men. Beckford was from a family who had made their fortune in overseas trade; he became an active politician, passionate about the defence of liberty; he was a supporter of the arts, and a member of the aristocracy through marriage.[119] But, whilst the Bouveries retained the Elizabethan architecture of Longford Castle, Beckford constructed a Palladian home in which to house his art collection. Moreover, Beckford's acquisitions have been assessed as "conservative," reflecting his desire "to ensure that his collection conformed with those of his peers."[120] Still, despite their differences in taste, it is noteworthy that both men, who wished to own homes and collections suited to their political ambitions, decided to use the same mechanisms to acquire art, and, particularly, to purchase from Mead's sale, alongside members of the established aristocracy.

The 1st Viscount bought the only works by Holbein available at Mead's sale. Susan Foister has shown that, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the paintings Holbein produced in England only sparked the interest of "a handful of antiquaries",

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116 WSHC 1946/3/1B/2
117 National Art Library MSL/1938/867-868 Sales catalogues of the principal collections of pictures … sold in England within the years 1711-1759, the greater part of them with the price & names of purchasers … Lugt. 570
118 J. Chapel, 'William Beckford: Collector of Old Master Paintings, Drawings, and Prints' in D. Ostergard (ed.) *William Beckford, 1760-1844: An Eye for the Magnificent*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Bard Graduate Centre for Studies in the Decorative Arts, Design and Culture, 2001, p. 246
119 P. Hewat-Jaboor, 'Fonthill House: 'One of the Most Princely Edifices in the Kingdom" in Ostergard (ed.) *William Beckford*, pp. 51-52
120 Hewat-Jaboor, 'Fonthill House', p. 54

with general appreciation for the artist having waned.[121] It is within this climate that the Bouveries' taste for Holbein must be understood: as an interest in the curious, the antiquarian, and the Tudor. These sixteenth-century portraits may well have been acquired to complement the castle's architecture and the other historical portraits at Longford, such as those of Calvin and Laurens des Bouverie. The family could thus consciously evoke connections with the past to lend a sense of historical continuity to their otherwise 'newcomer' status. In a similar manner, Queen Caroline had taken an interest in works by Holbein to forge material connections between the new Hanoverian regime and the revered Tudor dynasty, for which the artist had worked.[122] Although the 1st Viscount's prominence within the art world by this date was firmly entrenched, as shown by his presence at the Mead sale, and his work for the Society of Arts, his taste as demonstrated by his acquisitions showed signs of idiosyncrasy, driven by a complex range of motivations.

The 1st Earl's Acquisitions: 1760-1773

Van Dyck

The 1st Earl followed his father in valuing historical paintings, acquiring, for example, a full-length portrait by Van Dyck and his studio of Katherine Wootton, Countess of Chesterfield (1609-1667) (fig. 66) in April 1773 for £55 13s.[123] Robert Walpole had previously owned this painting, selling it in 1751 to an individual named West at the sale of his pictures at Langford's auction house.[124] The 1st Earl's acquisition of work by Van Dyck in the early 1770s is significant as it was concurrent with his patronage of the contemporary portraitist Thomas Gainsborough. Gainsborough's work – both in general, and in the works he produced for the 1st Earl – owed stylistic debts

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[121] See Foister, *Holbein and England*, p. 269 and O. Bätschmann and P. Griener, *Hans Holbein*, trans. C. Hurley and P. Griener, London, 1997, pp. 291-295.
[122] J. Marschner, 'Becoming British: Queen Caroline and Collecting', paper given at *Enlightened Monarchs: Art at Court in the Eighteenth Century* study day organised by The Wallace Collection, Royal Collection Trust and Centre for Court Studies, 7th May 2014
[123] WSHC 1946/3/1B/3 Account book [of personal expenditure of the 1st and 2nd Earls of Radnor] 1768-1795
[124] Getty Provenance Index, Lot 0051 from Sale Catalogue Br-A1108, http://piprod.getty.edu/starweb/pi/servlet.starweb (accessed 24th February 2015)

to Van Dyck's portraiture.[125] The simultaneity of these acquisitions and their shared aesthetic lent a tangible sense of historical continuity to the Longford art collection, to be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Portraits by Northern artists, such as Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680) or Van Dyck, working in England in the early Stuart court's golden age of artistic production, were still favoured by eighteenth-century collectors,[126] and were often displayed prominently in the country house.[127] Art theorists and practising contemporary artists such as Jonathan Richardson the Elder (1667-1745) considered their own work to stem from that of artists like Van Dyck.[128] Thus, these portraits were considered objects of taste. However, an established country house art collection in the eighteenth century was already likely to contain a range of portraits of this period, and the preceding Tudor era, depicting family members, royals or other aristocrats and thus the family's social connections. As we have seen, a few portraits by Van Dyck were possibly acquired along with the castle in 1717, but non-familial historical portraiture was still something of a lacuna that the Bouveries had to fill in order for their collection and social status to appear established.

The practice of acquiring historical portraits to fill gaps was far from unprecedented. Robert Walpole himself had purchased eight Van Dyck portraits in 1725 to hang at Houghton Hall, Norfolk.[129] It has been suggested that Walpole's combining of seventeenth-century portraits with works of other genres in the Common Parlour at his country seat may have been a "deliberate attempt … to give his splendid but very new 'palace' a greater sense of history."[130] Paul Methuen's (1723-1795) collection, housed at the Elizabethan Corsham Court, Wiltshire, included a portrait by William Dobson (c.1611-1646) and an anonymous portrait of Queen Elizabeth I, alongside a number of inherited canonical old masters,[131] providing an interesting parallel with

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125 See D. Cherry and J. Harris, 'Eighteenth-Century Portraiture and the Seventeenth-Century Past: Gainsborough and Van Dyck' in *Art History*, Vol. 5, No. 3, September 1982, pp. 290-291.
126 See Cherry and Harris, 'Eighteenth-Century Portraiture and the Seventeenth-Century Past', pp. 287-288 and R. Upstone, 'Van Dyck's Continuing Influence' in K. Hearn (ed.) *Van Dyck & Britain*, London: Tate Publishing, 2009, pp. 105-107.
127 Retford, *Art of Domestic Life*, p. 151
128 Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson*, p. 9
129 J. Cornforth, 'The Genesis and Creation of a Great Interior' in A. Moore (ed.) *Houghton Hall: The Prime Minister, the Empress, and the Heritage*, London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 1996, p. 32
130 S. Edwards, A. Moore and C. Archer, 'The Common Parlour' in Moore (ed.) *Houghton Hall*, p. 94
131 Lord Methuen, *A Catalogue of the Pictures at Corsham Court*, Corsham: C. J. Hall, 199-, pp. viii-ix

the Bouveries' collection in its juxtaposition of the curious, historical and connoisseurial. The end result for these collectors – a portrait collection of seamless historical continuity – differed little from the collections displayed at other established country houses. However, the pursuit and acquisition of these works over the course of the eighteenth century was still rather less typical of the activities of longer-established country house art collectors, who usually acquired these types of painting through inheritance.

The Italian School

Although the 1st Earl apparently did not travel abroad to collect art, he did acquire a particularly important work of the Italian school. Jonathan Yarker and Clare Hornsby have demonstrated that, paradoxically, collectors could purchase Italian art in London or Paris during the 1770s with greater ease than they could in Rome, due to constrictive export laws amongst other factors.[132] The 1st Earl acquired an *Adoration of the Shepherds*,[133] then attributed to Annibale Carracci or a member of his school, from the art dealer Gerard Van der Gucht (1696/7-1776), between 1764 and 1773 (fig. 67).

Although this purchase is not recorded explicitly in the accounts, the 1st Earl did list a number of transactions with this dealer, for buying and exchanging pictures, and engaging his services as a picture cleaner.[134] Evidence for the 1st Earl's ownership of the painting comes in several forms. A 1764 engraving of the painting appeared in John Boydell's (1720-1804) *A Collection of Prints Engraved after the Most Capital Paintings in England*, wherein it was noted that work was in the collection of Van der Gucht.[135] In 1779, however, a publication of Boydell's catalogue stated that it was then in the

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132 J. Yarker and C. Hornsby, 'Buying Art in Rome in the 1770s' in M. Dolores Sánchez-Jáuregui and S. Wilcox (eds.) *The English Prize: The Capture of the Westmorland, An Episode of the Grand Tour*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012, pp. 63-64. For more on dealer-excavators working in eighteenth-century Rome, see I. Bignamini, 'Introduction: The British Conquest of the Marbles of Ancient Rome: Aspects of the Material and Cultural Conquests' in I. Bignamini and C. Hornsby with additional research by I. Della Giovampaola and J. Yarker, *Digging and Dealing in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010, pp. 2-5.
133 New College, University of Oxford. Now attributed to Giacomo Cavedone (1577-1660).
134 See WSHC 1946/3/1B/3.
135 For more on Van der Gucht, see Pears, *Discovery of Painting*, pp. 74-75.

"Cabinet of the Earl of Radnor".[136] The painting had in fact been presented to New College, University of Oxford by the 1st Earl in 1773, emphasising the fluidity of the Bouveries' art collection and highlighting the fact that works of art did also leave Longford over the course of the period in question.[137]

The Carracci may have been purchased because the painting conformed to contemporary fashions. At the Orléans sale, for instance, Francis Egerton, 3rd Duke of Bridgewater (1736-1803) and Frederick Howard, 5th Earl of Carlisle (1748-1825) bought works by the artist.[138] Horace Walpole believed that "all the Qualities of a Perfect Painter, never met but in Raphael, Guido and Annibal Caracci",[139] and the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury noted, "'the Carachs, the Guidos', have come very costly" towards the end of his life.[140] As with works by the French masters, spending money on a painting associated with this eminent artist was a safe investment, as the painting was unlikely to fall out of fashion.

The 2nd Earl's Acquisitions: 1776-1810

The Italian School

Another significant piece of Italian art acquired for Longford during the eighteenth century was a painting of *Venus disarming Cupid*, thought to be by Correggio (1489-1534) (fig. 68).[141] The 2nd Earl spent £630 acquiring the work from the sale of Benjamin Van der Gucht's (1753-1794) paintings conducted in 1796.[142] The fact that this dealer was patronised by the 2nd Earl, as well as by his father, indicates a

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136 See J.-C. Boyer, 'Some Identifications of Paintings in the Collection of 'le grand Colbert' in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 156, No. 1333, April 2014, p. 213.
137 For more on the painting's eighteenth-century provenance, see A. Smith, "The Adoration of the Shepherds' in the Radnor Art Collection' in *Art Italies*, No. 21, September 2016, pp. 67-73.
138 W. Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting, with a Chronological History of the Importation of Pictures by the Great Masters into England since the French Revolution*, 2 Vols., London: R. Ackermann, 1824, Vol. I, p. 79
139 H. Walpole, *Aedes Walpolianae: or, a Description of the Collection of Pictures at Houghton-Hall in Norfolk, the Seat of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford*, London, 1747, p. xxxv
140 E. Wheeler Manwaring, *Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England: A Study Chiefly of the Influence of Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa on English Taste 1700-1800*, London: Frank Cass & Co. 1925, p. 17
141 Currently attributed to Luca Cambiaso (1527-1585) (Christie, *Inventory of Selected Chattels*, Vol. I, p. 101).
142 WSHC 1946/3/1B/4 Account book [of personal expenditure of Jacob, 2nd Earl of Radnor] 1797-1828

longstanding relationship that may well have underpinned or precipitated this purchase. Helen Matilda sketched the painting's history, noting that it had been mentioned by Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574);[143]owned by illustrious collectors including Sir William Hamilton (1730-1803); and decreed "divine" by Horace Walpole.[144] This assessment and provenance meant this work came fully endorsed, and it is notable that many paintings bought for Longford throughout the long eighteenth century share an illustrious provenance. Hamilton was an active member of the Society of Arts, and the 2nd Earl was later to purchase another painting once in his ownership: a portrait of Juan de Pareja by the Spanish artist Diego Velázquez (1599-1660).[145]

The attribution of *Venus disarming Cupid* has not stood the test of time, and, indeed, doubts had arisen over its attribution prior to the 2nd Earl's purchase.[146] As Gibson-Wood has noted, "taste for certain masters" can result in "an impossible abundance of works assigned to desirable artists",[147] and the desire, despite these doubts, to see the hand of Correggio at work is demonstrative of the esteem in which eighteenth-century collectors held this artist.[148] Correggio was admired for his perceived supremacy in the art of chiaroscuro.[149] A painting by the artist had been housed at nearby Wilton House since 1669, when Cosimo III de Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany (1642-1723) had presented it to Philip Herbert, 5th Earl of Pembroke (1621-1669).[150] Ownership of a Correggio was, for eighteenth-century collectors, a point of pride and honour, which the 2nd Earl may well have not wanted to miss out on.

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143 Vasari was known for his interest in the authorship of paintings (C. Gibson-Wood, 'Studies in the Theory of Connoisseurship from Vasari to Morelli', unpublished PhD thesis, School of Combined Historical Studies, Warburg Institute, University of London, 1982, pp. 14-32).

144 See WSHC 1946/3/2A/11 Correspondence & research notes for the Countess of Radnor's catalogue 1839-1907. On the provenance of this painting, see I. Jenkins and K. Sloan, *Vases and Volcanoes: Sir William Hamilton and his Collection*, London: British Museum Press, 1996, cat. 176, pp. 278-280.

145 K. Sloan, "Picture-mad in virtu-land' Sir William Hamilton's Collections of Paintings' in Jenkins and Sloan, *Vases and Volcanoes*, pp. 75-77. See also Metropolitan Museum of Art, 'Provenance – Juan de Pareja', http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437869 (accessed 31st March 2016).

146 K. Sloan, "Picture-mad in virtu-land", p. 85 and Jenkins and Sloan, *Vases and Volcanoes*, cat. 176, p. 279

147 Gibson-Wood, 'Studies in the Theory of Connoisseurship', p. 7

148 Desire for Correggio's hand is evident in the price made for 'his' *Sigismunda Mourning over the Heart of Guiscardo* compared to the difficulty experienced by William Hogarth in selling his painting of the same subject (see D. Bindman, 'Hogarth, William (1697-1764)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edition, May 2009, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13464 [accessed 18th November 2014]). See also Jenkins and Sloan, *Vases and Volcanoes*, cat. 176, p. 280.

149 C. Gould, *The Paintings of Correggio*, London: Faber and Faber, 1976, p. 158

150 Lord Pembroke, 'Introduction' in *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings in the Collection at Wilton House*, New York and London: Phaidon, 1968, p. 4

Purchasing an approved masterpiece was an easy way to fulfil this ambition and ensure that the Longford collection was on a par with those of its prestigious neighbours and peers.

It is interesting to note, however, that the 2nd Earl did not capitalise upon the opportunities presented by the widespread availability of Italian art following the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars to augment the representation of this school within his collection.[151] Haskell has argued that this surfeit of "pictures whose status had already been consecrated by centuries of praise" called a halt to the "budding interest in earlier – or remoter – art which had developed slowly but fairly steadily in the 1780s and early 90s".[152] Unlike other collectors whose interest in less canonised art waned at this time, the 2nd Earl continued to acquire more atypical pieces, as will be shown, alongside fashionable works of art. This suggests that he was predominantly guided by his own tastes and independent interest in individual pieces from a range of schools.

The Northern Schools

The 2nd Earl bought works of art of the Northern school, but by artists who were at the time not unfashionable. His copy of the 1791 catalogue to the sale of the art collection of the painter and dealer Richard Cosway contains pencil annotations next to a number of paintings, including some by Holbein and a "Teniers, in imitation of Titian" described as "A Moonlight."[153] The catalogue's author suggested, "if it were not for the well and figures, which are in the Dutch style, it would be very difficult to distinguish it from one of the finest of Titian's landscapes."[154] Auctioneers often 'puffed' pictures that were considered second-rate by comparing them to works by more fashionable artists, so as to improve sales.[155] It seems that the 2nd Earl may, however, have been particularly interested in this stylistic elision between the Northern and Italian schools.

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[151] For instance, he did not buy from the Orléans sale.
[152] Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art*, pp. 70-71
[153] WSHC 1946/3/4A/3 Catalogue of pictures and letter 1791. Possibly the work currently attributed to Abraham Pether (1756-1812) (Christie, *Inventory of Selected Chattels*, Vol. I, p. 26).
[154] WSHC 1946/3/4A/3
[155] See Miyamoto, "Making Pictures Marketable", pp. 126-127.

The 2nd Earl purchased a painting attributed to Sir Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) from this sale, having put a cross next to its entry in the catalogue, which described it as "A landscape – A view of the palace of the Escurial".[156] The 2nd Earl's interest in Rubens chimes with a wider connoisseurial appreciation for this artist's oeuvre amongst tastemakers and the art market as a whole.[157] Certain Flemish artists had long been revered. Rubens had benefited from the admiration of the French Academy in the seventeenth century, and de Piles's praise in the early eighteenth.[158] Peter Sutton has noted the esteem in which eighteenth-century artists held Rubens's work, from Antoine Watteau (1684-1721), to Reynolds, and Gainsborough.[159] Reynolds was drawn to the Netherlands to see the work of Rubens and Van Dyck, giving the former much attention and praise in his *Journey to Flanders.*[160]

The 2nd Earl's acquisitions therefore show an ongoing predilection for Northern art within the family, but also a taste for the, by then, more established and highly rated exemplars of that school. Rubens and Van Dyck were even considered a part of the 'English school'; the Hanoverians appreciating their work due to its links with the Stuart court.[161] This amalgamation of interests once again demonstrates that the perceived eighteenth-century transition towards connoisseurship was less straightforward than previously presumed, and that individual preferences and historical associations persisted in art collecting practices.

The acquisition of the Rubens also demonstrates the art world networks in which the family was engaging at this time. As will be shown in Chapter 5, the 2nd Earl patronised Cosway, and they corresponded with one another.[162] He perhaps bought

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[156] WSHC 1946/3/1B/3 and WSHC 1946/3/4A/3. Currently attributed to Pieter Verhulst (dates unknown) (Christie, *Inventory of Selected Chattels*, Vol. I, p. 103).
[157] See Mount, 'Introduction', pp. lxvii-lxviii for discussion of the change in the English market for Dutch art at this time.
[158] P. Sutton, 'Introduction: Painting in the Age of Rubens' in P. Sutton with the collaboration of M. Wieseman and D. Freedberg, J. Muller, L. Nichols, K. Renger, H. Vlieghe, C. White and A. Woollett (eds.) *The Age of Rubens*, Boston: Museum of Fine Arts in association with Ludion Press, Ghent; New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993, pp. 87-88
[159] Sutton, 'Introduction', pp. 88-90
[160] Mount, 'Introduction', pp. xliv-xlvii
[161] D. Shawe-Taylor (ed.) 'A 'Superior Brilliance' – the Painting of the Low Countries' in D. Shawe-Taylor (ed.) *The First Georgians: Art and Monarchy, 1714-1760*, London: Royal Collection Trust, 2014, p. 257
[162] See WSHC 1946/4/2B/4 Correspondence … 1771-1821

from the artist's personal collection because he wished to be associated with his taste, or because such provenance sanctioned the attributions of the paintings on sale, conferring greater prestige upon them. Robert Walpole was another collector who bought from the sales of the collections of artists he had patronised, such as the sculptor and wood carver Grinling Gibbons (1648-1721) and the portraitist Charles Jervas (c.1675-1739).[163]

Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Art

The 2nd Earl purchased several Elizabethan portrait miniatures by the goldsmith and limner Nicholas Hilliard (c.1547-1619),[164] not only amongst the finest examples of their genre,[165] but whose apparently unbroken provenance imbued them with significant historical value. These miniatures comprised part of the purchase of the Elizabethan cabinet in 1799.[166] One depicts Elizabeth I (fig. 69), and others unknown sitters.[167] In making these acquisitions, the 2nd Earl further filled the gap between his house and its collection. They also demonstrate the ongoing allure of small-scale curiosities to the family, and the significance of works of art with historical associations. Similarly, Horace Walpole acquired portrait miniatures depicting historical sitters, including Elizabeth I and other monarchs.[168]

The 2nd Earl also bought a full-length double portrait of the Tudor era: Holbein's painting now known as *The Ambassadors* (fig. 70).[169] The 2nd Earl's interest in the artist may have been induced by the presence at Longford of the 1st Viscount's acquisitions from Mead's sale, noted above, and speaks of a shared taste between the

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163 A. Moore, 'Sir Robert Walpole: The Prime Minister as Collector' in Moore (ed.) *Houghton Hall*, p. 48

164 Victoria and Albert Museum, London (http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1070379/elizabeth-i-portrait-miniature-nicholas-hilliard/ [accessed 9th May 2014])

165 When five of the miniatures were sold to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1974, two were assessed as "the most brilliant examples of Hilliard's work to survive" (R. Strong, 'The Radnor Miniatures' in J. Herbert (ed.) *Christie's Review of the Season 1974*, New York: Hutchinson of London and Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1974, p. 254).

166 WSHC 1946/3/1B/4

167 WSHC 1946/4/2K/1 Lady Rich's cabinet contents and documents 1589-1996

168 S. Lloyd, 'Intimate Viewing: the Private Face and Public Display of Portraits in Miniature and on Paper' in S. Lloyd and K. Sloan, *The Intimate Portrait: Drawings, Miniatures and Pastels from Ramsay to Lawrence*, Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland and the British Museum, 2008, p. 16

169 The National Gallery, London (http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/hans-holbein-the-younger-the-ambassadors [accessed 30th March 2015])

Longford collectors that ran across generations. The painting was purchased from the well-known art dealer William Buchanan between 1808 and 1809: a payment to "Buchanan (& his apignee Haldon)" for £1000 in 1809 is cross-referenced in the 2nd Earl's accounts with an entry in 1808, when "Buchanan Picture-Dealer" was given £100 "on Account".[170] Buchanan had acquired the painting from the leading French art dealer and collector Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Le Brun (1748-1813), who had included an engraving of it in the first volume of his *Galerie des Peintres Flamands, Hollandais et Allemands* in 1792.[171]

Haskell has noted that Le Brun was interested in "the value of rarity and unfamiliarity," and was responsible for the "'discovery' of forgotten artists" including Holbein.[172] Buchanan had a reputation for bringing into Britain "a veritable treasure house of Italian, Dutch, Flemish, and Spanish masterpieces",[173] and, thus, this painting appears something of a departure for him. Holbein still represented a less mainstream interest at this time, although his work was more in vogue amongst certain collectors, such as Horace Walpole, who dedicated a room to him at Strawberry Hill House, Twickenham.[174] Till-Holger Borchert has shown how the German Romantics came to value Holbein increasingly for his talent, which was discussed in relation to the artist's Italian contemporaries.[175] The painting's illustrious provenance, and the concurrent interest within the art world in Holbein's work, arguably sanctioned this painting as a collectable and valuable item. However, this interest was still in its infancy.

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[170] WSHC 1946/3/1B/4. Although the accounts do not list the title or artist, it is certain that these transactions refer to *The Ambassadors*. Mary Hervey, who uncovered the identities of the sitters in the early twentieth century, charted the painting's provenance, with the help of Helen Matilda. She noted the existence of an engraving after the picture in the British Museum, with the note "sold by Buchanan for 1,000 guineas", concurring with the evidence in the Longford accounts (M. F. S. Hervey, *Holbein's 'Ambassadors': The Picture and the Men: An Historical Study*, London: George Bell and Sons, 1900, pp. vi, 6).

[171] Hervey, *Holbein's 'Ambassadors'*, p. 5

[172] Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art*, pp. 28-32

[173] J. Weyers, 'Insights into an Art Dealer' in *The Glasgow Herald*, 25th June 1983

[174] P. Langford, 'Walpole, Horatio, fourth earl of Orford (1717–1797)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edition, May 2011, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28596 (accessed 11th March 2015)

[175] See T.-H. Borchert, 'Hans Holbein and the Literary Art Criticism of the German Romantics' in M. Roskill and J. O. Hard (eds.) *Hans Holbein: Paintings, Prints, and Reception*, New Haven, Washington and London: National Gallery of Art and Yale University Press, 2001, pp. 187-209.

The purchase of *The Ambassadors* also sheds further light on the art networks in which the 2nd Earl engaged. From Buchanan's published correspondence in the years prior to the purchase, it is apparent that he was familiar with the Longford collection and members of the Bouverie family.[176] He clearly anticipated the 2nd Earl's tastes, as is evidenced by a letter of 4th May 1804 to his London agent, where he wrote:

> The great object at present is to make a Noise about these pictures, and let all the Dillettanti know of them … [I] see many real purchasers returned to Town … and most of them are purchasing, for instance the … Earls Cowper, Fitzwilliam, Egremont, Radnor …[177]

The letter goes on to list many more collectors, encompassing a range of people of different social stations, from aristocrats to figures such as the Whig statesman Charles James Fox (1749-1806), the financier and philanthropist John Julius Angerstein (1732-1823) and the connoisseur and art critic Richard Payne Knight (1750-1824).[178] This indicates that a leading dealer of the day considered the 2nd Earl's taste concurrent with that of many other key collectors. The pictures noted by Buchanan of potential interest to such buyers included a Van Dyck and a Poussin: two artists prominently represented in the Longford collection by this stage. The letter also suggests that, by this time, if not before, Buchanan had identified the 2nd Earl as a prospective client.

The 2nd Earl might have briefed or instructed Buchanan on what to acquire on his behalf, but the dealer's demonstrable sense of instinct for what might fit – literally[179] and symbolically – into the Longford collection could also have triggered the acquisition of *The Ambassadors*. That the Holbein was deemed a good match in terms of the 2nd Earl's taste and the collection as a whole speaks to the family's perhaps well-known interest in acquiring more idiosyncratic works of art. The uniqueness of this portrait, which invited much comment from early nineteenth-century art

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176 See Brigstocke (ed.) *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, p. 205
177 Brigstocke (ed.) *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, pp. 294-295
178 Brigstocke (ed.) *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, p. 295
179 The painting's large size may have meant that it was acquired with the partial intention of filling a gap in the castle's picture hang.

historians wishing to decode its symbolism,[180] could well have been a key part of its appeal for the 2nd Earl.

Much art-historical attention has gone into deciphering this painting.[181] Mark Roskill has noted the polysemy of different aspects of the painting,[182] and Foister has discussed the process of discovery that takes place when the viewer encounters it, thanks to the use of anamorphosis.[183] The sense of mystery ingrained in this painting – which would have been heightened during its time at Longford, when the identity of the sitters was not yet known – lent it the status of a curiosity, awaiting decryption.

The picture, like others by Holbein and other sixteenth-century artists, complemented Longford's symbolic architecture, and other contemporaneous curiosities acquired to furnish the castle, such as the Steel Chair and Elizabethan cabinet. Holbein, as a Northern European painter who had spent time working in England, encapsulated the amalgamation of a revered aspect of English history with Northern continental traditions. As shown in Chapter 1, the Bouveries were also tying together these two aspects of their own identity, making these items particularly pertinent objects within the art collection. Moreover, these paintings demonstrated the collectors' personal tastes: the 2nd Earl's noted interest in history and his independent attitude may have occasioned the purchase of such an unusual painting as *The Ambassadors*.

We have also seen that the 2nd Earl had a marked interest in genealogy, perhaps borne of the antiquarian climate of the time. He actively sought out historical portraits of his forebears, when he did not already own likenesses of them. In 1776, the 2nd Earl corresponded with Lord Dacre[184] about the former's purchase at a sale at Aldermarston of portraits of the Forster[185] and Barrett families.[186] The 2nd Earl was

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180 Visitors' responses to the painting will be explored in Chapter 7.
181 See Foister, Roy and Wyld, *Making and Meaning*. The painting was described by Neil MacGregor as "one of the most puzzling" and "filled with objects that intrigue and perplex" (N. MacGregor, 'Foreword' in Foister, Roy and Wyld, *Making and Meaning*, p. 9).
182 M. Roskill, 'Introduction' in Roskill and Hard (eds.) *Hans Holbein*, pp. 9-10
183 S. Foister, 'Death and Distortion: The Skull and the Crucifix' in Foister, Roy and Wyld, *Making and Meaning*, pp. 44-55
184 Presumably Thomas Barrett-Lennard, 17th Baron Dacre (1717-1786).
185 Also known as Foster.

descended from both these families, and Lord Dacre from the Barretts. Lord Dacre, who appears to have been keen to acquire the portraits himself, wrote that "Lord Radnor bought all the pictures in a Lot",[187] which indicates the extent to which the 2nd Earl was keen to own them. This eagerness is corroborated by the apparently negative response Lord Dacre received to his letter of enquiry about the 2nd Earl's amenability to selling the pictures.[188] Lord Dacre wished to own originals or copies of the portraits, emphasising that the wish to fill in gaps within one's family portrait collection was far from limited to the Bouveries.

Sir Humphrey Forster (d.1602) (fig. 71), who married a member of the Barrett family, was a High Sheriff for Berkshire and later a Member of Parliament during the reign of Elizabeth I. The 2nd Earl might have acquired a portrait of this sitter as expressive of his family's connections in Berkshire, his mother's estate, Coleshill, being located in that county; as an image of a forebear in his political work; to emphasise the family's sense of Englishness and indigenous ancestry, rooting them within the country's history and geography; and/or as they would have chimed stylistically with other contemporaneous paintings at Longford.

Historical family portraits worked as a "visual family tree" within the country house,[189] and their absence could be problematic. However, although a historical collection would communicate important notions of lineage and dynasty, and attempts would be made to integrate new portraits into existing picture hangs by means of compositional similarities and stylistic continuities,[190] in general, money and effort were concentrated on acquiring either new portraits, or fashionable old masters. Furthermore, lesser portraits could sometimes be consigned to smaller, more private spaces within the country house.[191] When historical family portraits *were* actively collected, it was sometimes by "members of a burgeoning plutocracy" who wished to demonstrate a convincing, yet fictional, ancestry, by buying them up from

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[186] WSHC 1946/4/3F/2 Letters about Foster and Barrett portraits 1776
[187] WSHC 1946/4/3F/2
[188] See WSHC 1946/4/3F/2.
[189] Retford, *Art of Domestic Life*, pp. 149-151
[190] See Retford, *Art of Domestic Life*, pp. 154-160, 162.
[191] O. Millar, 'Portraiture and the Country House' in Jackson-Stops (ed.) *Treasure Houses of Britain*, p. 34

"old landed families" experiencing periods of financial difficulty.[192] Alternatively, families with legitimate dynastic claims who were missing a portrait of a certain forebear might commission one to fill the gap in a collection.[193] Like the Coleraine portrait retained at Longford, these paintings of distant relatives would have helped bridge past and present, making the Bouveries appear better rooted at their still relatively new family seat.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the range of acquisitions made by the Bouverie family during the period under study, some of which diverged from, and some of which subscribed to the perceived ideals of eighteenth-century art collecting. The purchases testify to the notion that the boundaries between virtuosic and connoisseurial traditions were less defined than has previously been supposed. Pears has argued that collections were supposed to reflect an owner's individual tastes, but only "in so far as their choice reinforced an orthodoxy that already existed";[194] the Bouveries' collecting habits articulated a range of interests, and the multifaceted nature of their identity.

Tasteful consumption of material culture was inextricably bound up with the notion of the appropriateness of this consumption to one's station. John Styles and Amanda Vickery have argued that the "[self-conscious] struggle to exercise good taste" witnessed in the lives of the genteel, wealthy and educated during the period testifies to "a struggle to arrive at material choices that were socially appropriate",[195] and Hannah Greig has also noted the judgement that aristocrats would exercise when they felt that their peers had not conformed to what was appropriate.[196] Decorous

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192 A. Laing, *In Trust for the Nation: Paintings from National Trust Houses*, National Trust in association with National Gallery Publications, 1995, p. 18. See also for the rarity of selling off family portrait collections.
193 Retford, *Art of Domestic Life*, pp. 165-166
194 Pears, *Discovery of Painting*, p. 163
195 Styles and Vickery, 'Introduction', p. 16. See also A. Vickery, ' 'Neat and Not Too Showey': Words and Wallpaper in Regency England' in Styles and Vickery (eds.) *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture*, pp. 201-202, 215-216.
196 See H. Greig, 'Leading the Fashion: The Material Culture of London's *Beau Monde*' in Styles and Vickery (eds.) *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture*, pp. 298-299.

consumption had, furthermore, a precedent in Calvinist teaching. Jan de Vries has argued that, contrary to the idea that it had preached the moral dangers of luxury, Calvinism in fact "could accommodate readily to the material world of a commercial society as long as this did not undermine 'authenticity'", and counselled "station or income-specific moderation".[197]

While the Bouveries were ascending the social scale, therefore, they may have felt the need to display an understanding of fashionable connoisseurial taste, but also been aware that, for their actions to be judged appropriate and decorous, they had to stay true to their own predilections and identity, and not 'overstep the mark'. 'Nouveaux riches' who put on a full display of aristocratic grandeur might find themselves disparaged for their premature and inappropriate ostentation.[198] According to the philosopher David Hume (1711-1776), however, artistic taste was not a matter of birthright but of education, and therefore those experiencing social ascent could equip themselves to make correct aesthetic judgements.[199] Art-theoretical texts and individuals such as Richardson taught how to gain the requisite connoisseurial skills, based on the longstanding belief that "gentlemen should include knowledge of art as one of their accomplishments",[200] and the ability to make aesthetic judgements could legitimate claims to authority and leadership.[201] Given the Bouveries' adoption of positions of duty in society, their timely subscriptions to more conventional notions of taste could indicate a desire to show their suitability for these positions. Thus, their broad range of art collecting arguably represents a balancing act, at the heart of which was the issue of exercising the appropriate taste to maintain social decorum.

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[197] J. De Vries, 'Luxury in the Dutch Golden Age in Theory and Practice' in Berg (ed.) *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 46-47, 50-51

[198] Josiah Child's modifications to Wanstead House were criticised by John Evelyn as having been "'vast and tastless'" (G. Glanville and P. Glanville, 'The Art Market and Merchant Patronage in London 1680 to 1720' in M. Galinou (ed.) *City Merchants and the Arts 1670-1720*, London: Oblong, Corporation of London, 2004, p. 22).

[199] See Pears, *Discovery of Painting*, pp. 30-35.

[200] Gibson-Wood, 'Studies in the Theory of Connoisseurship', pp. 97, 101, 107. See also J. Richardson, 'The Essay on the Dignity, Certainty, Pleasure and Advantage of the Science of a Connoisseur' in *The Works of Jonathan Richardson*, pp. 241-346.

[201] Pears, *Discovery of Painting*, pp. 36, 48

In collecting 'curiosities', the family did not slavishly emulate or create a pastiche of the European *kunstkammers* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[202] Their interest in small-scale historical works of technical and material brilliance may also be seen in the context of the eighteenth-century appreciation for luxurious commodities made in innovative materials, characterised by novelty and inventiveness of technique.[203] The fine arts came together with innovations in design and manufacture in the objectives of the Society of Arts,[204] with which all three of the Longford collectors were associated. Works of art carrying these qualities may have held a natural attraction for the Bouveries, and their collecting habits may have been an eighteenth-century inflection of virtuosic traditions.

The individuality of the Longford collection, however, was tempered by the replication of an established country house art collection containing paintings that pointed to the family's status as rightful members of their social class. Historical portraits of royals, family members and illustrious individuals at Longford evoked revered bygone periods and what eighteenth-century artists deemed 'the golden age' of portrait painting. The family thereby visually rooted their identity in English history as well as Huguenot history, presenting a seamless narrative from past to present that – whether intentionally or more instinctually – counteracted their newcomer status with claims to a longer lineage.

In creating a collection that was neither overly historicised in form or content, nor overly fashionable or indistinguishable from others', they showed themselves to be committed art collectors, constructing an inheritance for the future, and suited to their roles within the eighteenth-century art world. Each collector followed his own path, with, for example, the 1st Viscount notable for the range and number of works of art he acquired to establish the collection. It appears that different schools and styles of art were collected and valued for a number of reasons – personal,

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[202] Other collectors such as William Beckford sought to deliberately emulate such collections by means of the acquisition of diverse objects fitting into the categorisations of 'naturalia' and 'artificialia' (B. McLeod, 'A Celebrated Collector' in Ostergard (ed.) *William Beckford*, p. 155). The Bouveries, conversely, did not collect scientific specimens.

[203] On this eighteenth-century interest in materiality, see M. Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 23-26, 44 and M. Berg, 'New Commodities, Luxuries and their Consumers in Eighteenth-Century England' in Berg and Clifford (eds.) *Consumers and Luxury*, pp. 66-67.

[204] Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure*, pp. 91-96

decorative, and connoisseurial – and that these competing imperatives resurfaced and oscillated throughout the century.

Chapter 5: Patronage

This chapter explores the artistic patronage undertaken by the Bouverie family from the 1720s to the 1810s. It focuses on the acquisition of family portraits in oil and marble, estate paintings, and garden sculpture from contemporary artists.[1] Most of the patronage this chapter explores involved the commissioning of bespoke works of art, but some involved the acquisition of completed works of art already in the possession of their maker. This chapter illuminates the extent to which the Bouveries subscribed to contemporary fashions through their patronage, but also how they exercised their own more particular tastes, and articulated their own visions through their choice of artists and styles. It also draws links between the family's artistic patronage and their acquisition of old masters, explored in the previous chapter.

Here, 'commissioning' is taken to mean making a payment for a new work of art, as our main evidence comes in the form of account entries made by the 1st Viscount Folkestone and 1st and 2nd Earls of Radnor. It is often difficult to assess the extent of the patron's involvement in the stylistic decisions pertaining to a commission, particularly owing to the scarcity of written evidence, in the form of letters or diaries, surrounding the Bouveries' patronage. However, it is reasonable to assume that the patron had some level of input into the final appearance of commissioned works of art, certainly in contrast to acquisitions on the secondary market, and to conclude that these pieces are particularly revealing of their personal tastes.

1720-1740

Some of the earliest artistic purchases listed in the accounts of the 1st Viscount were portrait commissions. Although ultimately he would buy more old master paintings on the secondary market than he would commission contemporary pieces, it appears that, from an early stage, he appreciated the importance of amassing a portrait collection. This, of course, could only be acquired through direct contact with living artists. Before the 1st Viscount inherited Longford, he had acquired "my picture in

[1] For further examples, see Appendix C.

enamail" from Christian Friedrich Zincke (c.1684-1767), miniaturist to royalty and aristocracy, and had paid "Mr. Philips the Painter for a picture of my family" and "for mine & my Wife's picture".[2]

In the winter of 1724-25, shortly after their marriage, and presumably to commemorate the union, two three-quarter-length portraits depicting the 1st Viscount and his first wife, Mary Clarke (d.1739), were commissioned from Michael Dahl (1659-1743) for the sum of £62 20s. (figs. 1 and 72).[3] The acquisition of pendant portraits of husband and wife was typically precipitated by the desire to celebrate a recent union and the promised beginning of a new dynasty. Marriage in the early eighteenth century was one of the key life events that was likely to "[trigger] an individual's buying spree at the portrait painter's", along with the birth of a child, coming of age, and inheritance.[4]

The commission indicates the importance the 1st Viscount ascribed even at this early date to documenting his family for posterity. As Louise Lippincott has illustrated, family portraits might "be the first art purchase of an up-and-coming tradesman",[5] and, although the Bouveries' social status at this date exceeded that of 'up-and-coming tradesman', the association between portraiture and social ambition is worth noting. Living between rented properties at the time, these portraits were most likely not intended for permanent display in any one space within a particular interior. Thus, the choice of the three-quarter-length, rather than the full-length format, was probably not conditioned by availability of space. Instead, it may have been dictated by a sense of social decorum. Lippincott has noted that the choice of artist, size and medium of a portrait, and the sitter's pose were often governed by their status.[6] The three-quarter-length format was more expensive than a head-and-shoulders or half-length, but less grand than a full-length. This choice may thus speak of both the 1st

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[2] Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre (hereafter WSHC) 1946/3/1B/1 House book [of household and personal expenses of Sir Jacob Bouverie] 1723-1745. Presumably Charles Philips (1708-1747). On Zincke, see National Portrait Gallery, 'Christian Friedrich Zincke', http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp07774/christian-friedrich-zincke?search=sas&sText=zincke (accessed 29th January 2015).
[3] WSHC 1946/3/1B/1
[4] L. Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London: The Rise of Arthur Pond*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1983, p. 64
[5] Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London*, p. 66
[6] Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London*, p. 66

Viscount's elevated sense of social status at this time, and his desire to conform to what was appropriate.

In the mid-1720s, Dahl was an established portraitist, and arguably a safe choice for someone, like the 1st Viscount, starting out as a patron and collector. He had emigrated from Sweden in 1689; is thought to have worked with Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646-1723); and was patronised by Queen Anne.[7] This may have made him attractive to the 1st Viscount, as the Bouverie family owed its baronetcy to this monarch. Despite an assessment of the artist as a favourite of Tories,[8] like many portraitists of the period, Dahl's clients pragmatically included both Tories and Whigs, including Sir Robert Walpole.[9]

Dahl also painted the 1st Viscount's elder brother, Sir Edward des Bouverie (fig. 5). Although the 1st Viscount's accounts do not explicitly reference a payment for this portrait, one might conjecture that the 1st Viscount commissioned both to hang together, or, alternatively, the siblings may have commissioned their paintings simultaneously. When viewing the portraits side by side, the similarity of the sitters' poses and costumes is striking, indicating that the family wished to project a coherent image. However, the portrait of the 1st Viscount can be construed as more forward-looking.[10] The landscape background and less staid expression set it apart. Moreover, he is painted with one hand tucked inside his unbuttoned jacket, a fashionable motif frequently used in portraits of gentlemen during the eighteenth century.[11] The 1st Viscount may have commissioned Dahl due to his ability to paint a picture that evoked aristocratic associations, and which looked back to the esteemed Baroque portrait tradition, but which also linked him with eighteenth-century fashions.

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[7] See W. Nisser, *Michael Dahl and the Contemporary Swedish School of Painting in England*, Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri-Aktiebolag, 1927, pp. 9, 25 and J. Douglas Stewart, 'Dahl, Michael (1659-1743)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, online edition, January 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7005 (accessed 14th July 2016).

[8] O. Millar, 'Portraiture and the Country House' in G. Jackson-Stops (ed.) *The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting*, Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985, p. 31

[9] A. Moore (ed.) *Houghton Hall: The Prime Minister, the Empress, and the Heritage*, London: Philip Wilson, 1996, cat. 23, p. 103

[10] See Nisser, *Michael Dahl*, p. 125.

[11] See A. Meyer, 'Re-dressing Classical Statuary: The Eighteenth-Century "Hand-in-Waistcoat" Portrait' in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 77, No. 1, March 1995, pp. 45-63.

Considering this commission as an act of self-presentation as the 1st Viscount began married life, it is worth also analysing the patronage that he undertook around the time of other important life events. He did not mark his 1747 ennoblement with a new portrait commission. Instead, the significant year was merely added as an inscription to Dahl's existing portrait of the 1st Viscount. Likewise, no painted portraits appear to have been commissioned at the time of his inheritance of Longford. In contrast, between the mid-1730s and early 1750s, Captain Francis Blake Delaval (1692-1752) commissioned a number of painted portraits from Arthur Pond to fill the walls of Seaton Delaval Hall, Northumberland, his newly inherited seat.[12]

An important set of family portraits at Longford – but this time in marble, rather than oil – are likely to have been commissioned around the time of the 1st Viscount's acquisition of the castle, however. Payments totalling £350 made to John Michael Rysbrack on account in November and December 1739 may refer to portrait busts by the sculptor, two of which depicted the 1st Viscount and his eldest son (later the 1st Earl) (figs. 73, 74, 75).[13] The amount spent on the three sculpted portraits, in contrast to the two oil paintings commissioned fifteen years earlier, highlights the respective values of the two mediums, and the extent to which 1st Viscount deemed it important to be depicted in marble. The concurrence of this commission with the improvements at Longford suggests that it was bound up with his new identity as a country house owner. The busts alluded to the family's present and future incumbents, and the materiality of the marble entrenched the sense of a permanent dynasty. Matthew Craske has suggested that families who made the transition from

[12] Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London*, p. 65

[13] Several payments are listed to Rysbrack in the accounts, but the busts are not mentioned specifically. Payments in April 1738 to Rysbrack are noted explicitly to have been for chimneypieces, and payments later in the century can be discounted as the age of the 1st Earl in the marble representation makes it more likely they were commissioned in the 1730s. Moreover, Helen Matilda noted the busts next to her transcription of these 1739 transactions (see WSHC 1946/3/1B/1; WSHC 1946/3/1B/2 House book [of household and personal expenses of Sir Jacob Bouverie and William, 1st Earl of Radnor] 1745-1768; WSHC 1946/3/1B/3 Account book [of personal expenditure of the 1st and 2nd Earls of Radnor] 1768-1795; and WSHC 1946/3/1B/5 House books [containing extracts from 1946/3/1B/1-4 made by Helen Matilda, Countess of Radnor, early twentieth century] [1723-1828]). She corroborates this in her research notes (WSHC 1946/3/2A/8 Research volumes for the Countess of Radnor's catalogue of paintings [c.1890-c.1930]).

trade to land might often celebrate the first man of noble title in marble.[14] Although the 1st Viscount's ennoblement had not yet taken place, this commission fits with patronage trends, in that it celebrates him, on the occasion of his inheritance, as a *paterfamilias* and landowner.

The bust of the 1st Viscount shows the sitter dressed in a loose, creased cap, and an unbuttoned shirt and jacket. Rysbrack was known to depict men of trade *en négligé*, wearing simplified contemporary dress and a soft cloth cap.[15] Although his clientele also included many aristocrats,[16] he was particularly innovative in these depictions of businessmen.[17] For viewers at the time, therefore, the bust would have linked the 1st Viscount to other patrons of mercantile origins, suggesting that he may have been mindful of the need to articulate his ascending social position in a decorous manner at this moment of inheritance.

This style contrasts with that of marble busts which depict the sitter in classicised Roman dress. Such representations alluded to the "Roman Republican tradition of civic virtue" adopted by political figures of the time, and, through their links with antique statuary, gained "authority as [images]".[18] Although the use of marble did connect the Bouverie sitters to this august past to an extent, the 1st Viscount rejected the opportunity to present himself as a born political leader in this way. At this date, it appears to have been more important to the 1st Viscount to patronise an artist known for representing aristocrats and businessmen alike, and to negotiate a range of associations in his patronage so as to express the family's multifaceted identity.

During this period, the family also commissioned works of art other than family portraits. In 1737, the 1st Viscount engaged Pond's services to paint "a Picture of Ld. Strafford & his Secretary" for ten guineas.[19] This is described as a "Copy from the

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[14] M. Craske, *The Silent Rhetoric of the Body: A History of Monumental Sculpture and Commemorative Art in England, 1720-1770*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007, p. 353
[15] Craske, *Silent Rhetoric of the Body*, pp. 359-360
[16] M. Baker, *The Marble Index: Roubiliac and Sculptural Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2014, pp. 5, 83
[17] K. Eustace, 'Rysbrack (John) Michael (1694-1770)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edition, May 2009, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24427 (accessed 9th January 2015)
[18] Baker, *Marble Index*, pp. 79, 92
[19] WSHC 1946/3/1B/1

Celebrated Vandyke at Blenheim" in eighteenth-century inventories of the Longford collection.[20] Pond, alongside his role as picture dealer and restorer, produced quality copies of old masters for clients wishing to fit out their new homes.[21] At this early stage in the 1st Viscount's collecting career, and at the time of his acquisition of the family seat, enlisting such an artist to produce a copy of an important and famous historical portrait from an important and famous country house would not only have helped to fill Longford's walls, but also to associate the 1st Viscount and the castle with the original painting, the master, and the collection at Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire, enhancing the formers' status.

Gervase Jackson-Stops has noted that eighteenth-century art collectors often preferred to obtain or commission copies of great pictures, rather than acquire an original that was a lesser work.[22] Although the art theorist Jonathan Richardson disapproved of copies on a number of grounds,[23] he also took the view that "a copy of a very good picture is preferable to an indifferent original".[24] To commission a copy not only linked the patron with the prestige of the original,[25] but also provided a degree of flexibility, as it could be made to a new size. Thus, copies often appeared within country house art collections.[26]

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[20] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1 Early catalogues of paintings at Longford 1748-1828

[21] Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London*, pp. 62-63. See also B. Küster, 'Copies on the Market in Eighteenth-Century Britain' in C. Gould and S. Mesplède (eds.) *Marketing Art in the British Isles, 1700 to the Present*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2012, p. 181 for a list of old master copies made by Pond and the clients who purchased them, such as the Governor of the Bank of England, Peter Delmé (d.1728).

[22] G. Jackson-Stops with the assistance of F. Russell, 'Augustan Taste' in G. Jackson-Stops (ed.) *Treasure Houses of Britain*, p. 322. Copies were often commissioned on the Grand Tour (see J. Yarker and C. Hornsby, 'Buying Art in Rome in the 1770s' in M. D. Sánchez-Jáuregui and S. Wilcox (eds.) *The English Prize: The Capture of the Westmorland, An Episode of the Grand Tour*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012, pp. 63-64, 76-77).

[23] C. Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson: Art Theorist of the English Enlightenment*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2000, p. 196

[24] J. Richardson, 'The Essay on the Art of Criticism: Of Copies and Originals' in *The Works of Jonathan Richardson*, London: T. Davies, 1773, pp. 225-226

[25] Country house guidebooks sometimes linked copies to their originals (see J. Anderson, 'Remaking the Country House: Country House Guidebooks in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', unpublished PhD thesis, The Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2013, p. 181).

[26] G. Jackson-Stops with the assistance of F. Russell, 'Temples of the Arts' in Jackson-Stops (ed.) *Treasure Houses of Britain*, p. 18. See also Küster, 'Copies on the Market in Eighteenth-Century Britain', pp. 179-193.

In 1743, the 1st Viscount commissioned an estate portrait of Longford Castle by George Lambert (1700-1765) (fig. 76).[27] Estate portraits functioned as representations of the owner's "source of political power and social prestige",[28] and were part of a topographical tradition that had been especially fashionable in the preceding decade.[29] Lambert's output, however, was most prolific in the 1740s, and in the year prior to this commission, he had worked on a set of views of Chiswick House, London for Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington.[30] That Lambert had received patronage from such an illustrious individual implies that the 1st Viscount selected one of the choicest and most fashionable artists for the job. In making such a commission, the 1st Viscount reinforced his ownership of the castle and estate, and conformed to recognised patronage trends. As mentioned in Chapter 4, an additional attraction may also have lain in Lambert's emulation of Dutch landscapes and works by Poussin,[31] which the 1st Viscount was collecting at the time he undertook this commission.

Other works of art bought from contemporary artists during the 1740s included garden sculptures. For example, in 1742, the 1st Viscount paid £3 10s. 6d. to "Cheere at Hyde-Park-Corner for 3 plaister Bustos bronz'd & cases",[32] and, in 1759, he paid "Mr. Cheere for ye. Statues of Flora & [Anna] Augusta at £8:8:0 each, oyling, painting, & packing cases" as well as a supplier for "six stone Terms at £8:8:0 each" and "Mr. Devall for the Portland stone for d[itt]o".[33] The statue of *Flora* (fig. 77) is based on the Farnese *Flora*, and the sculptor referred to is presumably John Cheere (1709-1787), brother of Sir Henry Cheere who, as noted in Chapter 3, had produced chimneypieces for Longford's interiors in the 1740s. John Cheere, in distinction to his brother, worked in lead and plaster rather than marble, producing a great number of figures, statuettes and busts in a range of sizes for display in patrons' gardens

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[27] Government Art Collection.
[28] C. Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000, p. 201
[29] J. Harris, *The Artist and the Country House: A History of Country House and Garden View Painting in Britain 1540-1870*, London: Sotheby Parke Bernet Publications, 1979, p. 158
[30] E. Einberg, 'George Lambert (1700-1765)' in Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, *George Lambert (1700-1765) First Exhibition devoted to one of England's Earliest Landscape Painters*, Greater London Council, 1970, p. 7
[31] Einberg, 'George Lambert', pp. 7-9
[32] WSHC 1946/3/1B/1
[33] WSHC 1946/3/1B/2

during the 1740s and 1750s.[34] These included a statue of a *River God* costing £98 for Stourhead, Wiltshire in 1751, and nineteen lead statues for Blair Castle, Perthshire in 1754.[35]

The 1st Viscount clearly did not spend a large amount of money on these sculptures, although, as the Stourhead example shows, the option for him to have increased his expenditure was there should he have wished to do so. This choice may have been pragmatic, as the statues were intended for an outdoor setting, and thus would have been subject to corrosion through the elements. As with the 1st Viscount's acquisition on the secondary market of smaller and less valuable art objects, these mid-price purchases from contemporary artists show the range of his collecting, and that he supplemented prestigious and expensive commissions with items of a lesser value.

Although it has been argued that these lead garden statues functioned as "a vital part of the apparatus of the connoisseur in providing visible evidence of his literary and artistic erudition",[36] Malcolm Baker has suggested that garden sculptures from Cheere's Hyde Park Corner workshop were associated with the 'cits' and merchants of the City of London who wished to retire to the country.[37] Gardens and their decoration "formed a constant subject for mockery in writings on luxury."[38] In acquiring these sculptures for the garden at Longford, therefore, the 1st Viscount could be seen as either intentionally or unwittingly displaying his mercantile origins by choosing an artistic type that was associated with moneyed, rather than aristocratic, taste. The 1st Earl bought more statuary from John Cheere in 1768 and 1775.[39] This ongoing patronage of the artist suggests that the family were unconcerned with the criticism that the ownership of such works could invite.

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[34] M. Craske and M. Baker, 'Cheere, Sir Henry, first baronet (1702–1781)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edition, Jan 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5207 (accessed 9th January 2015)
[35] T. Friedman and T. Clifford (compilers) *The Man at Hyde Park Corner: Sculpture by John Cheere 1709-1787*, Leeds and Twickenham: Temple Newsam and Marble Hill House, 1974, p. 9
[36] Friedman and Clifford (compilers) *The Man at Hyde Park Corner*, p. 13
[37] M. Baker, *Figured in Marble: The Making and Viewing of Eighteenth-Century Sculpture*, London: V&A Publications, 2000, pp. 119-122
[38] Baker, *Figured in Marble*, p. 119
[39] WSHC 1946/3/1B/3

1750s

Two views of London and Westminster Bridges by the artist Samuel Scott (1702-1772) were painted "bespoke of him" at the behest of the 1st Viscount in 1750 (figs. 78 and 79).[40] Scott depicted the bridges in another pair of paintings, which similarly highlighted the differences between the newly built Westminster Bridge and the old London Bridge, then awaiting renovation, which were engraved in 1758 due to their popularity.[41] The 1st Viscount may have commissioned 'bespoke' versions of the paintings, before they were popularised through the medium of print, to emphasise his pre-eminence as a patron. Moreover, as the pair was commissioned three years after the 1st Viscount's entry into the House of Lords, one might argue that these representations of the capital were particularly meaningful to their owner and his sense of identity.

A pair of Italian overdoors paintings at Longford, bought in 1757, depicting the Piazza of St. Mark's and a view of the Grand Canal in Venice, later provided an Italian counterpart to these English paintings.[42] The 'bespoke' Scotts, however, are slightly curved, which enabled their display overdoors in the circular Green Velvet Drawing Room at Longford. This shows that fine art commissions, as well as furnishings, were contrived to fit the distinctive shape of the castle.

The 1st Viscount continued to patronise portraitists in the middle of the century, once much of his work to the Longford interiors was complete. He kept his family portrait collection up-to-date, the existing contents of which had been documented in 1748 in the aforementioned list of "Family Pictures of the Des Bouveries at Longford".[43] In 1749, he commissioned a large set of painted portraits from the

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[40] WSHC 1946/3/1B/2
[41] Tate Gallery, London (see Tate, 'Samuel Scott, A View of Westminster Bridge and Parts Adjacent', http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/scott-a-view-of-westminster-bridge-and-parts-adjacent-n00314 [accessed 18th July 2016] and Tate, 'Samuel Scott, A View of London Bridge before the Late Alterations', http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/scott-a-view-of-london-bridge-before-the-late-alterations-n00313 [accessed 18th July 2016]).
[42] WSHC 1946/3/1B/2. Now attributed to Luca Carlevarijs (1663-1730) (Christie, Manson & Woods Ltd., *Inventory of Selected Chattels: The Earl of Radnor, Longford Castle*, 3 Vols., 27th October 2010, Vol. I, pp. 25, 37).
[43] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1

artist Thomas Hudson. In his account book on 4th May 1751, he noted "Mr. Hudson a bill for Philly's Picture £21:0:0, Neddy & Harriot's £37:16:0, the three other Girls at £18:18:0 each, my eldest son's Picture, & mine & my Wife's (wch. I give my son) at £25:4:0 each, & gave his man 10s 6d".[44] The prices paid for the individual portraits, most of which are half-lengths, seem in line with, if not slightly below, the standard rates set by Hudson from the late 1740s, when half-lengths usually cost around twenty-four guineas apiece.[45] The prices may reflect the substantial size of this commission. The total expenditure of £91 12s. 6d. for nine portraits again emphasises the discrepancy between the costs of portraits in oil and those in marble in the mid-eighteenth century.

Two sets of portraits by Hudson of the 1st Earl and his first wife Harriot Pleydell, both at Longford today, are particularly noteworthy. The first is a pair of half-length feigned oval portraits, both measuring approximately 30 x 24 inches, the sitters shown against dark backgrounds and facing towards one another (figs. 80 and 81).[46] The second is a pair of three-quarter-length portraits showing these sitters in Van Dyck costume (figs. 82 and 83),[47] again facing towards one another with a swathe of red drapery in each serving to unite the two compositions. Hudson regularly depicted his sitters wearing Van Dyck dress in portraits of the period,[48] and, as this chapter will show, the style was one repeatedly employed in representations of the Bouverie family.

One might surmise that both sets of portraits were commissioned simultaneously to mark the occasion of the future 1st Earl's marriage in 1748. As they cannot be matched firmly to account entries, at least one of the sets may have been commissioned by the 1st Earl himself, not then in charge of the Longford accounts, or instead by Harriot's father, Sir Mark Stuart Pleydell, perhaps for display at

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[44] WSHC 1946/3/1B/2
[45] Miles, 'Introduction'
[46] The Christie's inventory links this portrait of the 1st Earl to this account entry of 4th May 1751 (Christie, *Inventory of Selected Chattels*, Vol. I, p. 130), and the similarities between this portrait and that of Harriot suggest they were commissioned together.
[47] Harriot's portrait is housed in a contemporary frame described as en suite to that of Hudson's portrait of the 1st Viscount (Christie, *Inventory of Selected Chattels*, Vol. I, p. 93), believed to be the painting referred to as "mine" in the above account entry. This could suggest that they were part of the same 'job lot', but, equally, the frames could have been added at a later date.
[48] E. G. Miles, 'Thomas Hudson, 1701-1779: Portraitist to the British Establishment', unpublished PhD thesis, Yale University, 1977, pp. 79-80

Coleshill House, Berkshire. Acquiring two sets of portraits would have enabled the family at large to capitalise on the hours the pair had sat for Hudson. It is significant that this artist was entrusted with multiple commissions from the family, and the episode highlights the importance of the 1st Viscount as a patron to Hudson. He was seemingly on a par with another aristocrat described as a "major patron" to the artist: Philip Yorke, 1st Earl of Hardwicke (1690-1764), who commissioned several portraits to hang at Wimpole Hall, Cambridgeshire, which he had purchased in 1740 and consequently redecorated,[49] providing a parallel with the 1st Viscount.

Hudson has been said to have bridged the gap between "the craftsmen-painters of Kneller's generation" and the "gentlemen-artists of the Royal Academy",[50] and was at the height of his prominence in the late 1750s.[51] The Bouveries thus followed a common course in their patronage, employing painters who were most fashionable at the time. The 1st Viscount may have known Hudson as he had also been appointed a Governor of the Foundling Hospital, in 1746. Indeed, Hudson was patronised during the 1740s by many of the institution's other governors, including Sir Robert Walpole, Sir John Willes (1685-1761), and Prince William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (1721-1765).[52] This demonstrates how the 1st Viscount's movements within art world networks of the time probably paved the way for, or influenced, his patronage.

In 1750, Rysbrack was commissioned to design and construct a piece of monumental sculpture for All Saints Church, Coleshill, commemorating Harriot, following her early death (fig. 84). This work was included in Horace Walpole's list of Rysbrack's twenty-two "best works".[53] Although the commissioning of an artist already entrusted to execute work for the family suggests a desire to follow previous

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[49] Miles, 'Introduction' in Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, *Thomas Hudson 1701-1779: Portrait Painter and Collector: A Bicentenary Exhibition*, London: Greater London Council, 1979, unpaginated. See also 'Lot Notes, Thomas Hudson, Portrait of Philip Yorke, Lord Hardwicke, later 1st Earl of Hardwicke', Lot. 8, Sale 6004 – British Pictures, 16th July 1998, Christie's, King Street, London, http://www.christies.com/LotFinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=1054600#top (accessed 21st January 2015).
[50] F. W. Weyer, 'Foreword' in Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, *Thomas Hudson 1701-1779: Portrait Painter and Collector: A Bicentenary Exhibition*, London: Greater London Council, 1979, unpaginated
[51] Miles, 'Introduction', unpaginated
[52] Miles, 'Introduction', unpaginated
[53] H. Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England; with Some Account of the Principal Artists*, new edition revised by R. N. Wornum, 3 Vols., London: Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co., 1888, Vol. III, p. 37

patronage patterns, the monument was stylistically novel in that it inverted the traditional means of depicting husband and wife. In a discussion of this monument within the context of the eighteenth-century culture of commemorative statuary to deceased wives, Craske argued that the overlapping relief portraits of the couple, which show the profile of Harriot superimposed upon that of her husband (fig. 85), "constitute the most patent inversion of an established visual tradition aimed at communicating patriarchal power in marriage and the family", and thus were "[unique] in the sculpture of the period".[54]

A pen and ink sketch for the monument by Rysbrack (fig. 86),[55] dated c.1750, shows the memorial more or less exactly as it was executed. It is not known whether earlier sketches were made in which Rysbrack proposed a more conventional arrangement of the images of husband and wife, or whether it had been stipulated from the beginning of the commission that Harriot's image was to overlap that of her husband. Rysbrack would typically offer a client a range of finished drawings illustrating a variety of proposals during the negotiating process.[56] His practice, offering his patrons an array of options, has been likened to an artisan's, in contrast with that of Louis-François Roubiliac (1702-1762), who would present one sole idea to his patron.[57] Indeed, Rysbrack might have been selected for this commission over other sculptors for the agency he allowed his patrons in the design process.

A scribbled note written by the 1st Earl on the reverse of this sketch indicates that he accepted this design, including its inversion of the convention: "This drawing is approv'd of by Mr. Bouverie, who wou'd have the Monument executed in every particular according to it which is agreeable to the Contract sign'd by Mr. Rysbrack".[58] A small oval portrait of the two sitters in wax at Longford again shows Harriot's profile overlapping that of husband (fig. 87). Rysbrack perhaps made it as

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[54] Craske, *Silent Rhetoric of the Body*, p. 327
[55] Victoria and Albert Museum (hereafter V&A) E.448-1946 Design for a memorial (front and side elevations) to the Hon. Harriet Bouverie, Viscountess of Folkestone (d.1750)
[56] Baker, *Figured in Marble*, p. 113. Another drawing of the monument exists in the Radnor archive, but this also shows Harriot's profile overlapping that of her husband (WSHC 1946/4/2C/16 Notes and sketches by Jacob, 2nd Earl of Radnor 1786-1789).
[57] Baker, *Marble Index*, pp. 220-221
[58] V&A E.448-1946

part of the design process, or as a personal memento for the 1st Earl.[59] The existence of multiple versions of the image reinforces the sense of clear intent. Another sketch by Rysbrack for a funerary monument, depicting unknown sitters, exemplifies the more common model, wherein the wife is subordinated to the husband (fig. 88).[60] Here, his expansive dress and wig all but overshadow his spouse's simple profile. Other executed designs would have been visible on country estates by 1750, as well as promoted via public display at Rysbrack's shop and within "press puffs".[61] The circumstances appear to suggest, therefore, that the agency for this design lay with its patron, intent upon challenging convention.

To understand this deviation from the norm, it is important to recognise that the monument was not intended for display at Longford, but for the church on Harriot's ancestral estate, to which she was heiress. As noted in Chapter 1, the 1st Earl's marriage to Harriot brought this estate and the Pleydell name to the Bouverie family.[62] It may have been deemed appropriate that, when she was commemorated at this location, she was remembered in relation to her inheritance and her own identity, rather than subsumed under that of her husband. The composition of the monument reinforced this emphasis and even went further, evoking her significance within the marriage, as augmenting the Bouveries' wealth and status. Thus, the commission visually and publicly demonstrated the debt owed by the Bouveries to Harriot for the role she played in enriching their estate.

Indeed, Craske has noted that when women inherited or acted as vehicles for the passage of property, gratitude could be articulated through commemoration of those women "in a tributary image".[63] Taking this form somewhat further than convention decreed, however, this commission may have been intended partly to placate, console and thank Sir Mark, the 1st Earl's distraught father-in-law and benefactor. The family thereby used patronage to express and consolidate bonds of kinship, much as "well-populated conversation pieces" in the eighteenth century were

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[59] On small-scale portrait sculptures, including medals and ivory reliefs, and their public and private nature, see Baker, *Marble Index*, p. 34. Small-scale commissions will be discussed later in this chapter.
[60] V&A 4910-52 Design
[61] Craske, *Silent Rhetoric of the Body*, p. 119
[62] However, at this date, Coleshill was still owned by Harriot's father, Sir Mark Stuart Pleydell, who died in 1768.
[63] Craske, *Silent Rhetoric of the Body*, pp. 214, 216, 220

commissioned to express connections, duties and financial benefactions between members of an extended family.[64]

The monument can also be seen as an example of sentimental patronage. Stylistic motifs such as the pair of flaming torches "bonded together with a chain and a human heart" conjure a seventeenth-century device evoking eternity.[65] Craske comments on this iconography, and the overall "flagrantly emotive" nature of this monument, within a discussion of the eighteenth-century culture of male sentiment, arguing that the mid-1740s had seen men adopt the notion of sensibility, often borne of "sympathy for evangelical Christianity".[66] The 1st Earl's piety is well known,[67] thus perhaps accounting for the use of this iconography. The mid-eighteenth century also saw a number of tomb monuments characterised by "drama" and "pathos", which David Bindman has considered in the context of the theological movement away from Latitudinarianism, and the rise of the notion of consolation within death.[68] For the 1st Earl, who had been bereaved at a young age, such a monument presumably provided some consolation.

Harriot was also portrayed in relation to Coleshill in an oil portrait by Edward Haytley (fl.1740-1764) (fig. 89). The work is a portrait of the Coleshill estate as well as its heiress. It shows Harriot on a terrace, with the house in the background, gesturing to her right, her index finger pointing at and turning the viewer's attention to the property. Like the sculptural monument, the painting directly associates Harriot with her inheritance, even going so far as to adopt the classic gesture of the male landowner.

Haytley was known as a 'journeyman' artist, and would travel to the home of his client and observe them in their own milieu, showing off the sitter's wealth or status

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[64] K. Retford, *Pictures in Little: The Conversation Piece in Georgian England*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, forthcoming, chapter 6
[65] Craske, *Silent Rhetoric of the Body*, p. 327
[66] Craske, *Silent Rhetoric of the Body*, pp. 314, 327. Earlier monuments to wives had focused on genealogy and feminine virtues, rather than sentiment (Craske, *Silent Rhetoric of the Body*, pp. 313-315).
[67] P. Langford, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman 1689-1798*, Clarendon: Oxford, 1991, pp. 573-574
[68] D. Bindman, 'The Consolation of Death: Roubiliac's Nightingale Tomb' in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 49, No. 1, Narrative Art Issue, Winter 1986, pp. 27, 36-37

through a direct representation of their property,[69] as well as through signifiers such as dress and props. Most of his paintings show the sitter outdoors,[70] perhaps better to depict the scale of their property and consequent status. However, other eighteenth-century portraits showing women alongside property that they themselves had inherited, owned, or been responsible for transmitting to their husband's family were often less explicit about the woman's role in that transaction. For example, in a conversation piece showing the heiress Elizabeth Atherton (b.1719) with her inheritance, Atherton Hall, Lancashire, in the distance (fig. 90), her husband Robert Gwillym's (dates unknown) proprietorial gesture depicts the estate as his masculine domain.[71] Haytley's portrait is much more unusual in its representation of a female inheritor alone with her property.

This commission does not appear in the Longford accounts. Harriot's father, Sir Mark, may have commissioned the portrait, in light of the fact that he had bequeathed his estate to his daughter. Alternatively, the 1st Earl may have been responsible for its existence; in which case, as with his patronage of Rysbrack, he again appears to have been more innovative than some of his peers in representing his wife in an independent position. This depiction contrasts with the more conventional estate portrait produced of Longford for the 1st Viscount in 1743, thereby suggesting that the family did not always adhere to conventions in their patronage, particularly when portraying their secondary estate, rather than the family's main seat.

1760-1780

The Bouverie family continued, throughout the eighteenth century, to employ the most fashionable artists of the day, demonstrating an awareness of shifts in taste that speaks of their knowledge of and involvement in the contemporary art scene. When considering the artists who received the highest number of commissions from the family, one can see a clear trajectory as they changed their loyalties in line with

[69] R. Griffiths, 'The Life and Work of Edward Haytley' in *The Walpole Society*, Vol. LXXIV, 2012, p. 1
[70] Griffiths, 'Life and Work of Edward Haytley', p. 10. See also R. Strong, *The Artist and the Garden*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000, p. 75.
[71] Retford, *Pictures in Little*, chapter 6. Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.

prevailing trends: individual painters were no longer patronised as a result of retirement or when they were considered less desirable. The family moved, first from Dahl to Hudson, and then from Hudson to Sir Joshua Reynolds, who had been apprenticed to Hudson.[72] In transferring the family's patronage to the younger painter,[73] they achieved a sense of continuity in their portrait commissions, whilst staying up-to-date and looking forwards.

Reynolds painted a number of portraits of the Bouveries around 1760, including the 1st Viscount's second wife; two of the 1st Viscount's daughters; the 1st Earl's second wife, Rebecca Alleyne (1725-1764); and two of the 1st Earl's sons.[74] That payments for these paintings are not listed in the Longford accounts again suggests that they were commissioned and paid for by the 1st Earl before his father's death, after which time he took over the Longford accounts. The 1st Earl's involvement in the commission is also hinted at by the fact that, in amongst sittings for the portraits of his eldest son in 1757, and his second son in 1760, he called at Reynolds's studio, possibly to check on the progress of these works.[75] The portrait of Rebecca (fig. 91) was executed in 1760, and Reynolds's pocket book for that year details six appointments between March and May.[76] Although unclear, Reynolds's ledger entries suggest that the portrait was paid for in the standard manner; in two instalments between 1761 and 1762.[77]

The timing of the commission, at what can be understood as the artist's peak, is also significant. Ellis Waterhouse has noted that Reynolds "reached full artistic maturity in 1753",[78] and the family's patronage of the artist took place concurrently with, if not before, Reynolds's full professionalisation of his practice. This occurred in 1760, when he exhibited his work in the first exhibition at the Great Room of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, and also bought a

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[72] E. K. Waterhouse, *Reynolds*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner & Co., 1941, p. 4
[73] On Hudson giving way to Reynolds, in the case of patrons like the Bouveries, see Miles, 'Introduction', unpaginated.
[74] See D. Mannings, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: A Complete Catalogue of his Paintings*, cats. 219-226, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000, pp. 99-100.
[75] Mannings, *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, cats. 223 and 226, p. 100
[76] Mannings, *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, cat. 225, p. 100
[77] J. Reynolds, 'The Ledgers of Sir Joshua Reynolds', trans. M. Cormack, in *The Walpole Society*, Vol. XLII, 1968-1970, p. 119
[78] Waterhouse, *Reynolds*, p. 9

house in Leicester Fields, London, where he could receive sitters and showcase his work.[79] This patronage shows that the family were on the cusp of current trends, employing Reynolds even before his new studio made it easier for clients to commission portraits. Both patron and painter were also moving within the same art world circles at this time: namely, the Society of Arts.

The three-quarter-length portrait of Rebecca shows her standing with a classical sculpted urn decorated with hunting nymphs:[80] a further instance of the use of Anglo-Italian hybrid imagery within the Bouveries' commissions, referencing both the classical past and English country sporting pursuits. The costume historian Aileen Ribeiro has linked the way in which Rebecca's grey silk dress is hitched up on one side to the "oriental effect of a kind much favoured in Turkish masquerade costumes at that period",[81] lending the portrait an air of modishness.

It is interesting to compare this portrait with another aristocratic likeness painted by Reynolds during this period, featuring Elizabeth Gunning, Duchess of Hamilton and Duchess of Argyll (c.1733-1790) (fig. 92).[82] The sitter is depicted in a similar pose to Rebecca, and both are shown gazing into the distance. However, Rebecca is portrayed indoors, rather than within a landscape setting. Both sitters wear ermine capes, but, despite its oriental allusions, the solidity of the fabric of Rebecca's silk dress and the drapery behind her contrast with the flimsier dress worn by Elizabeth.[83] As with the early portrait of the 1st Viscount by Dahl, therefore, this commission again elides past and present.

The negotiation of temporality appears to have been a particularly pronounced feature of many depictions of the Bouverie family. It is especially notable in Reynolds's 1757 full-length portrait of the 2nd Earl as a young boy, depicted standing

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[79] N. Penny, 'An Ambitious Man: The Career and Achievements of Sir Joshua Reynolds' in N. Penny (ed.) with contributions by D. Donald, D. Mannings, J. Newman, N. Penny, A. Ribeiro, R. Rosenblum and M. Kirby Talley Jr., *Reynolds*, London: Royal Academy of Arts and Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1986, p. 24

[80] Penny (ed.) *Reynolds*, cat. 40, p. 204

[81] A. Ribeiro quoted in Penny (ed.) *Reynolds*, cat. 40, pp. 203-204

[82] Lady Lever Art Gallery, Liverpool.

[83] On this type of dress and its appropriation by Reynolds, particularly in the context of the portrait of Elizabeth Gunning, see A. Ribeiro, 'Muses and Mythology: Classical Dress in British Eighteenth-Century Female Portraiture' in A. de la Haye and E. Wilson (eds.) *Defining Dress: Dress as Object, Meaning and Identity*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999, pp. 107-108.

in a landscape wearing Van Dyck costume (fig. 93). Although the 2nd Earl was not yet ten years of age at the time of painting, this portrayal was presumably commissioned to foreshadow the sitter's aristocratic inheritance and future role within the family dynasty. Therefore, the use of Van Dyck dress, though backward-looking, was particularly apposite, given that it would not date the portrait, and would appear timeless in posterity. Nicholas Penny has argued that Reynolds's use of Van Dyck dress added "historical resonance to the aristocratic authority implied by the relaxed grandeur of the poses" and an "air of being at ease with power" to depictions of noblemen.[84] Although one must be cautious in ascribing these qualities to a young child's likeness, the beginnings of such authority are evoked through the use of historical costume and the sitter's confident stance.

Reynolds has been lauded for his ability to combine ideas in his paintings from old masters including Van Dyck, Michelangelo (1475-1564) and Rembrandt (1606-1669).[85] Although the 1st Earl did not buy many paintings on the secondary market, as the eldest son of the 1st Viscount, who was then in his late sixties, he would have anticipated his inheritance of Longford and its art collection at the time of his patronage of Reynolds. In 1760, the art collection included a number of old master paintings, including one attributed to Rembrandt, purchased that year at auction.[86] Reynolds's ability to provide continuity with old masters in the Longford collection may well have been part of his appeal to the 1st Earl.

One of the most significant moments at which the intersection between acquisitions on the secondary market and the patronage of contemporary artists came to the fore in the Bouveries' eighteenth-century art collecting was in the early 1770s. It also is indicative of the prevailing significance of the Van Dyck style for the family, which, although adopted by other patrons, is an especially recurrent motif within the Bouveries' patronage. Thomas Gainsborough was commissioned to paint a series of six portraits at the same time as the 1st Earl acquired portraits by Van Dyck at auction. Gainsborough's portraits, each around 29 x 24 inches in size, were

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[84] Penny, 'An Ambitious Man', p. 22
[85] M. Kirby Talley, Jr, "All Good Pictures Crack': Sir Joshua Reynolds's Practice and Studio' in Penny (ed.) *Reynolds*, p. 61
[86] WSHC 1946/3/1B/2

purchased for a total sum of £252 in 1774.[87] The set may have been commissioned *en bloc* to complete the family portrait collection, ensuring all members of the immediate family were documented in a harmonious manner. Gainsborough's portraits record the 1st Earl, and members of his immediate family, including his three sons by his second wife, Rebecca: the Honourable William Henry Bouverie (1752-1806), the Honourable Bartholomew Bouverie (1753-1835) and the Honourable Edward Bouverie (1760-1824) (figs. 94, 95, 96, 97).

The 1st Earl did not commission a portrait of his eldest son and heir, later the 2nd Earl, from Gainsborough. However, between 1767 and 1774 he had commissioned two portraits of his eldest son from the Royal Academicians Frances Cotes (1726-1770) and Sir Nathaniel Dance-Holland (1735-1811) respectively, indicating that special provisions were made for the depiction of the heir. Notably, the size of Cotes's painting is in line with that of Gainsborough's series, at approximately 29 x 24 inches, and Dance's with earlier family portraits by Hudson, at 49 x 39 inches, ensuring that the portrait collection as a whole could be displayed in harmony.

Gainsborough's depiction of the 1st Earl contrasts with another portrait he produced of the same sitter (fig. 98) that portrayed him wearing a wig and Peer's Robes, with a column and drapery in the background, and an authoritative stance and gaze. The former commission appears more informal, for instance in the sitter's style of dress. The relative lack of accoutrements and plainer style of dress concentrates the viewer's attention more fully on the 1st Earl's physiognomy, demanding that the viewer confront him as an individual. Baker has argued that, in focusing more intensely on sitters' features, the bust and head-and-shoulders formats of many eighteenth-century portraits in both marble and oil required the viewer to engage primarily with the sitter's likeness and sense of self, and less with their identity as expressed through external attributes such as props or costume.[88] The Gainsborough series of portraits appears to achieve this aim, but is also notable for its adoption of a

[87] WSHC 1946/3/1B/3
[88] Baker, *Marble Index*, pp. 65-67

seventeenth-century format, the feigned oval, and the references to Van Dyck dress in the portraits of the sons.[89]

Gainsborough had produced portraits in a historicising style since his departure from Suffolk in the late 1750s,[90] and was possibly reading manuals of seventeenth-century painting techniques and reviving some of their methods during his time in Bath.[91] The Van Dycks present at nearby Wilton greatly influenced Gainsborough's artistic practice during his period in Bath. He also visited Longford in 1773, and it is most likely that he saw the recently acquired portraits by Van Dyck of the *Countess of Chesterfield* and of the *Countess of Monmouth* on his visit.[92]

It is surely no coincidence that the 1st Earl chose to patronise this artist at a moment when his acquisitions demonstrate a clear interest in the work of Van Dyck. The proposal that this patronage stemmed from a conscious desire to harness Gainsborough's ability to appropriate seventeenth-century styles is corroborated by the fact that the family went to the lengths of inviting the artist to Longford. The family's hospitality may reflect the fact that Gainsborough had not by this time moved to London, but also shows the level of investment – aside from financial – that they put into this multi-portrait commission.

The adoption of the seventeenth-century style would have ensured that the portraits did not date,[93] and also that they blended harmoniously into the art collection at Longford, which, as has been shown, contained a number of seventeenth-century paintings by this time, including works by Van Dyck, as well as the aforementioned

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[89] It has been suggested that Edward's dress was based on a real-life costume held at Gainsborough's studio, also used in his portrait of *The Blue Boy* (D. Cherry and J. Harris, 'Eighteenth-Century Portraiture and the Seventeenth-Century Past: Gainsborough and Van Dyck' in *Art History*, Vol. 5, No. 3, September 1982, pp. 299-300, 305).
[90] Cherry and Harris, 'Eighteenth-Century Portraiture and the Seventeenth-Century Past', p. 300
[91] R. Jones and M. Postle, 'Gainsborough in his Painting Room' in M. Rosenthal and M. Myrone (eds.) *Gainsborough*, London: Tate Publishing, 2002, p. 35
[92] These paintings had a "considerable impact on [Gainsborough's] historical portraiture": motifs from both can be traced in the artist's portraits of eighteenth-century sitters (Cherry and Harris, 'Eighteenth-Century Portraiture and the Seventeenth-Century Past', pp. 294-295, 305). On this visit to Longford, the artist also made a copy of David Teniers's painting *Return from Shooting* (see Art Net, 'Past Auction', http://www.artnet.com/artists/thomas-gainsborough/the-return-from-shooting-after-teniers-skYxque0l5o7h93HJzTZbg2 [accessed 3rd August 2016]).
[93] This was a concern of several of Gainsborough's clients and one acknowledged by the painter himself (see Cherry and Harris, 'Eighteenth-Century Portraiture and the Seventeenth-Century Past', pp. 292-293).

copy after his work by Pond. Patrons could request this manner of self-presentation in order that the resultant likeness could tie in with seventeenth-century paintings in their own collections.[94] For example, the same continuity had been achieved for an established aristocratic family in the drawing room at Arundel Castle, West Sussex, where portraits by Gainsborough of Charles Howard, 11th Duke of Norfolk (1746-1815) and Bernard Howard, 12th Duke of Norfolk (1765-1842) were hung alongside portraits by Van Dyck.[95]

The Bouverie family are particularly notable for having commissioned works in this style on multiple occasions, and across generations: during their patronage of Hudson, of Gainsborough and Reynolds, and later, as we shall see, in their commissioning of Richard Cosway (1742-1821). For this socially ascending family, the role of such works of art in achieving a "conscious evocation of the past both suggest[ing] noble lineage and lend[ing] distinction to the status of the family"[96] was especially pertinent. Staying on the cusp of patronage trends by commissioning Gainsborough, already fashionable, yet also looking to the past stylistically, so as to secure the relevance of the portrait collection for posterity, again demonstrates the family's ongoing negotiation between past, present and future in their patronage. This case study also demonstrates the way in which, for the Bouveries, patronage and art collecting on the secondary market went hand in hand.

In 1775, Gainsborough was charged with creating a copy of a portrait of the 1st Viscount in coronation robes, originally by Hudson (fig. 99), for hanging at the Society of Arts to commemorate its first president (fig. 100).[97] Although not instigated by the family themselves, nor intended for display in one of their properties, the 1st Earl nonetheless facilitated the commission. It had first been given to Dance-Holland, along with the 1st Earl's permission for him to borrow Hudson's

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[94] Cherry and Harris, 'Eighteenth-Century Portraiture and the Seventeenth-Century Past', p. 289
[95] M. Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1993, p. 23 and M. Rosenthal, *The Art of Thomas Gainsborough: 'A Little Business for the Eye'*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1999, p. 158
[96] Cherry and Harris, 'Eighteenth-Century Portraiture and the Seventeenth-Century Past', p. 305
[97] Great Room, Royal Society of Arts, London. Parts of this discussion have been published within a wider analysis of the commission in A. Smith, 'Lord Folkestone and the Society of Arts: Picturing the First President', *William Shipley Group for RSA History Occasional Paper*, No. 29, April 2016, pp. 22-28.

painting from Longford Castle.[98] When Dance-Holland became unable to carry out the commission due to ill health,[99] the 1st Earl suggested that "as Mr. Gainsborough since the appointment of Mr. Dance is settled in London perhaps the Society may think him the properest person to make the Copy", and allowed the continued loan of the Hudson portrait.[100] Gainsborough had been one of the Committee's original choices when they had proposed a number of artists for the commission by ballot,[101] but it is interesting that the 1st Earl demonstrated a personal preference for this artist when mooting a replacement. This may have been borne of his recent patronage of Gainsborough and, one must presume, satisfaction with his work. The 1st Earl's suggestion was taken up by the Society, and Gainsborough accepted the commission, requesting one hundred guineas for its completion.[102]

This work illuminates the family's continued involvement in the affairs of the Society of the Arts during the eighteenth century: the 1st Earl was elected a Vice President the following year, 1776.[103] It also highlights the fact that existing portraits in the family collection were copied, with the result that these particular representations endured in contexts other than that of the family seat. Moreover, it implies the 1st Earl's desire for his deceased father to be painted by the artist who had recently documented living members of his family. The Bouveries' public image was thus characterised by a sense of continuity, and the unification of the work of two prestigious artists within the commission also illustrates the way in which copies could even transcend the status of the original.

Gainsborough was also commissioned by the 2nd Earl to paint his wife, Anne Duncombe, in 1778,[104] most probably to commemorate their marriage,[105] which had taken place the previous year. The fact that both Gainsborough and Reynolds were patronised by the 2nd Earl suggests that the family built up strong professional

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[98] Royal Society of Arts Archive (hereafter RSA) AD/MA/100/12/01/19 Minutes of the Society 1773-1774
[99] See RSA AD/MA/100/12/01/20 Minutes of the Society 1774-1775 and RSA AD/MA/100/12/01/21 Minutes of the Society 1775-1776.
[100] RSA AD/MA/100/12/01/21
[101] RSA PR/GE/112/12/15 Minutes of various Premium Committees 1773-1774
[102] RSA AD/MA/100/12/01/22 Minutes of the Society 1776-1777
[103] RSA AD/MA/100/12/01/21
[104] WSHC 1946/3/1B/3
[105] N. Penny with the assistance of S. Avery-Quash, *A Guide to Longford Castle*, 2012, p. 10

relationships with artists that lasted across generations. Repeat patronage of the same artists is a leitmotif running through much of the Bouveries' eighteenth-century collecting. This is particularly significant when it is acknowledged that the family's links with the contemporary art scene through their involvement with the Society of Arts and the Foundling Hospital meant that they had an array of choices at their disposal. Their patronage choices appear to have been borne of a desire for continuity as well as of artistic excellence, in their lineal self-representation.

1780-1812

Reynolds also painted the 2nd Earl's wife, Anne, in 1787, for £105 (fig. 101).[106] This portrait was produced in the artist's late style, with a "very freely executed" landscape background,[107] softly painted in blues and greens. The portrait engages with contemporary styles that demonstrate stylistic progression; yet, because it is of the same size as Reynolds's earlier depiction of the 2nd Earl as a child, at around 50 x 39 inches, and because its landscape background echoes paintings of Anne's children by Cosway, to be discussed shortly, it also contains elements that serve to unite the portrait collection as a whole.

A study of the 2nd Earl's patronage of Cosway encompasses many of the leitmotifs that this chapter has demonstrated were central to the family's patronage: their predilection for commissioning sets of likenesses; and their ability to nurture and sustain close relationships with fashionable and prestigious artists whom they had met through their art world networks. Cosway was commissioned on a number of occasions, between 1781 and 1812, to produce full-length oil paintings, drawings, and portrait miniatures depicting members of the Bouverie family.[108] These showcase a fruitful relationship between artist and patron that lasted over a generation.

In 1812, Cosway produced an oil painting of the 2nd Earl wearing Peer's Parliamentary Robes and holding James Wyatt's architectural plans for Longford,

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[106] WSHC 1946/3/1B/3
[107] Mannings, *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, cat. 218, p. 99
[108] See WSHC 1946/3/1B/3 and WSHC 1946/3/1B/4 Account book [of personal expenditure of Jacob, 2nd Earl of Radnor] 1797-1828.

discussed in Chapter 2, implying the sitter's confidence in the proposed alterations (fig. 102). He had also painted a series of five portraits of some of the 2nd Earl's children during the 1780s and 1790s. Two of these, portraying "my 3 eldest Children", were paid for in 1785, for the total sum of £115 10s.[109] The first is a joint portrait of the son and heir, William Pleydell-Bouverie (later the 3rd Earl) and the 2nd Earl's eldest child, Lady Mary Anne Pleydell-Bouverie (1778-1790) (fig. 103). The second shows the second son, the Honourable Duncombe Pleydell-Bouverie (1780-1850). Both paintings are idealised representations, depicting the children in relaxed, informal poses within landscape settings. When the portraits were paid for, the children were aged, respectively, six, five, and four.

In 1789, Cosway was paid £50 for his portrait of the Honourable Laurence Pleydell-Bouverie (1781-1811), the next eldest son, then aged seven (fig. 104).[110] He appears again in a landscape setting, but in a comparatively dynamic composition, depicted surrounded by dogs, evocative of Gainsborough's painting of 1783, *Two Shepherd Boys with Dogs Fighting*.[111] The final portraits were commissioned together, and a payment of £178 10s. was made in 1799 for these two canvases. One depicts Lady Barbara Pleydell-Bouverie (1783-1798) (fig. 105); the other represents the Honourable Frederick Pleydell-Bouverie (1785-1857) and the Honourable Philip Pleydell-Bouverie together (fig. 106).[112] Barbara had died the year before, aged sixteen. The plainness and seriousness of the composition of her portrait, and smaller size of its canvas, in comparison to Cosway's portraits of the other children, suggests it may not have been painted from life, but commissioned posthumously. The portrait of Frederick and Philip shows the two children engrossed in deciphering an inscription on a marble plinth. The composition echoes that of Nicolas Poussin's *Et in Arcadia ego*,[113] and the painting could therefore refer to the loss of one or both of the boys' sisters.

That these portraits of the children are, for the most part, of a similar style, suggests that, even though the 2nd Earl did not commission them all at the same time, he was

[109] WSHC 1946/3/1B/3
[110] WSHC 1946/3/1B/3
[111] Kenwood House, London.
[112] WSHC 1946/3/1B/4. The only child apparently not painted by Cosway was Lady Harriet Pleydell-Bouverie (1782-1794): the reasons for this omission are unknown.
[113] Musée du Louvre, Paris.

desirous of achieving a unified and coherent effect. The likenesses, with the exception of Barbara's, all measure approximately 49 x 39 inches. These similarities indicate the family's adherence to a 'house style' for their portrait collection. The commissions may have been made separately so that the 2nd Earl's offspring were all depicted as children of similar ages, rather than some as adolescents, and others as babies. In engaging Cosway to paint in the same style and size across a period of almost fifteen years, the portraits appear to posterity as a set, recording a generation of Bouveries.[114]

The style of these portraits can be profitably seen in the context of Rousseau's ideas about child-rearing, which were, by the 1780s, well established.[115] There was a clear trend in eighteenth-century child portraiture to engage with children's games, their individual personalities, and connection with animals and the natural world.[116] Although Reynolds was known for his proficiency in this genre, the portrait of William and Mary Anne has been described as "one of Cosway's most charming essays in child portraiture", and the category a "genre in which the artist excelled";[117] therefore, in engaging Cosway for such a large commission, the 2nd Earl seems to have been aware of the artist's competency in this area.

The composition of the portrait of Mary Anne and William has been linked to a "Rubensian prototype" and described as "idyllic" by Stephen Lloyd.[118] Again, such a stylistic similarity is significant when assessing the Longford art collection as a whole, as at this time it contained works associated with Sir Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), including depictions of infants. In 1773, a full-length portrait of Rubens's young son had been acquired for the collection.[119] Moreover, in 1791, the 2nd Earl purchased a

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[114] On agency and meaning within eighteenth-century child portraiture, see Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, p. 178.
[115] See G. Newman and L. E. Brown, *Britain in the Hanoverian Age, 1714-1837: An Encyclopedia*, Taylor & Francis, 1997, p. 119.
[116] J. C. Steward, *The New Child: British Art and the Origins of Modern Childhood, 1730-1830*, Berkeley, California: University Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive and University of California, Berkeley, in association with the University of Washington Press, 1995, pp. 19, 90, 133
[117] Steward, *New Child*, pp. 20-25 and S. Lloyd, *Richard and Maria Cosway: Regency Artists of Taste and Fashion*, Edinburgh: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1995, cat. 32, p. 116
[118] Lloyd, *Richard and Maria Cosway*, cat. 32, p. 116
[119] WSHC 1946/3/1B/3. Recently reattributed to Rubens by Nicholas Penny following cleaning; the painting had previously been given to Rubens's studio.

painting of *Cupids Harvesting* by Rubens's circle from Cosway's own collection.[120] His relationship with the artist may have had an influence upon both his taste in old masters and how he translated those tastes into his contemporary commissions, with the result that, again, the Longford art collection appeared aesthetically harmonious.

When compared with the 2nd Earl's most high profile acquisition on the secondary market around this time, his purchase of a 'Correggio' in 1796 for £630, the costs of these commissions pale into relative insignificance. However, the prices appear on a par with those paid for contemporary portrait commissions from other artists. John Hoppner's (1758-1810) portrait of Anne, Countess of Radnor, for example, was paid for in two instalments of £26 10s., in 1796 and 1799 respectively.[121] That the children were all painted at a total cost of almost £350, however, is significant. It eclipses the 1st Earl's expenditure on the set of portraits from Gainsborough, although this does reflect other factors, such as the fact that inflation averaged at 1.4% a year between 1775 and 1795,[122] and that the 2nd Earl had more children.[123]

However, the nonetheless relatively high cost of this almost comprehensive set of portraits of offspring demonstrates the level of significance the 2nd Earl ascribed to family portraits, which takes on further currency in light of his keen interest in genealogy, noted in Chapter 1. As we have seen, an excessive interest in heraldry was considered indecorous in the eighteenth century, but, by investing in the fashionable genre of child portraiture, the 2nd Earl was able to make proclamations about his dynasty, and its security into the future, in a manner highly acceptable to his contemporaries. Marcia Pointon has noted the prevailing belief within scholarship that a "child-centred ideology" formed a substitute for a "genealogical one" in the eighteenth century.[124]

The 2nd Earl's extensive patronage of Cosway may owe its roots to the influence of the Society of Arts in Cosway's early artistic development. William Shipley (1715-

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[120] Christie, *Inventory of Selected Chattels*, Vol. I, p. 95
[121] WSHC 1946/3/1B/3 and WSHC 1946/3/1B/4
[122] Bank of England, 'Inflation Calculator', http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/resources/inflationtools/calculator/flash/default.aspx (accessed 15th July 2016)
[123] In doubling up some of the portraits, he prevented costs from escalating further.
[124] Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, p. 177

1803), founder of the Society, had supported the artist upon his arrival in London in 1754, and Cosway had won a premium for a chalk drawing in the under fourteen-year-old category.[125] It is perhaps unsurprising that one of the family's most significant examples of their loyalty as patrons was towards Cosway, given that they would have been alerted to his genius from an early date through their involvement in the Society of Arts. This relationship was perhaps strengthened by Cosway and the 2nd Earl's mutual self-respect as art collectors,[126] transcending that of typical artist and patron. The two corresponded with one another, and it is known that, at least on one occasion, Cosway planned to visit Longford to look at the art collection, although he was eventually unable to do so.[127]

Cosway was not only a distinguished painter of children, but has also been assessed by his contemporaries and posterity as the eighteenth century's "pre-eminent" miniaturist.[128] His portrait miniatures have been praised as "glamorous and intimate" and described as "the mirror in which fashionable Regency society saw itself reflected."[129] As Cosway produced a number of portrait miniatures for the Bouverie family, the family thereby located themselves within the midst of such stylish company.

However, as in other commissions, such fashionability was tempered by references to past portraiture. For example, a miniature was produced of the 2nd Earl wearing Van Dyck costume,[130] demonstrating the ongoing and marked importance of this aesthetic to the Bouveries' self-image. Miniatures, by their very nature, were not likely to be seen by as wide an audience as a full-size oil painting, and indeed might only be viewed by the family and close friends. Thus, it is significant that, even when portraying themselves for their own gaze, the family chose to reinforce the sense of entrenched aristocratic identity provided by Van Dyck dress. In addition, in 1812, Cosway produced a watercolour on ivory depicting the 1st Earl, after Gainsborough's

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125 Lloyd, *Richard and Maria Cosway*, pp. 13, 20
126 It has been argued that Cosway was "one of the most significant artists active as a collector" during the period (Lloyd, *Richard and Maria Cosway*, p. 14).
127 WSHC 1946/4/2B/4 Correspondence … 1771-1821
128 G. Reynolds, 'Late Eighteenth-Century Miniatures by Richard Cosway and Andrew Plimer' in G. Sutherland (ed.) *British Art 1740-1820: Essays in Honour of Robert R. Wark*, San Marino, California: Huntington Library and Art Gallery, 1992, p. 118
129 Lloyd, *Richard and Maria Cosway*, p. 13
130 Image unavailable.

1773 portrait of the sitter, which has been described as a "free interpretation" of the original (fig. 107).[131] These commissions demonstrate the importance of visual continuity within the Longford collection as created across both large and small works of art.

The commissioning of bespoke small-scale art objects, such as these miniatures, suggests the ongoing importance of this type of art within the Longford collection. This genre formed part of a tradition dating back to Tudor and Stuart patronage, and the miniatures Cosway produced for the 2nd Earl would have chimed with the Elizabethan miniatures the latter purchased concurrently. Portrait miniatures had been commissioned for the Bouveries throughout the eighteenth century, such as the aforementioned "picture in enamail" of the 1st Viscount by Zincke, and work produced in 1778, when £39 17s. was paid to "Smart Miniature Painter".[132]

Alongside the payment to Zincke in the accounts, an associated payment was listed for "setting of my picture (£2- being allow'd for ye. old gold)".[133] The reuse of some "old gold" suggests that thought had gone into the appearance and materiality of the miniature's encasing. The accounts also show that in 1785, when Cosway was paid for his miniature likeness of the 2nd Earl, someone named Gray was also contracted "for Setting of my Picture by Cosway".[134] Although the settings on these occasions only cost between approximately 13 and 22 per cent of the price of the painting itself, frames or casings were clearly considered to be an important part of the commission.[135] They would have been required in order for the miniatures to be carried about, held, and appreciated in a tactile manner, up close.

In 1781, the 2nd Earl commissioned a "stained drawing" of his wife, Anne, from Cosway, for the sum of £26 5s.[136] This appears to be the first commission that the artist received from the man who was to become "one of [his] most important patrons".[137] Cosway has been credited with doing "much to transform" the genre of

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131 Lloyd, *Richard and Maria Cosway*, cat. 22, p. 115
132 WSHC 1946/3/1B/3. Most probably John Smart (c.1740-1811).
133 WSHC 1946/3/1B/1
134 WSHC 1946/3/1B/3
135 Other types of picture frame in the Longford collection will be discussed in Chapter 6.
136 WSHC 1946/3/1B/3. Whereabouts unknown.
137 Lloyd, *Richard and Maria Cosway*, cat. 22, p. 115

portrait drawings,[138] which formed an important part of his artistic output. As is evident from the 2nd Earl's commissions of both types, these drawings often cost around the same as miniatures.[139] Drawings therefore were highly esteemed, and must not be overlooked. They were another important aspect of the Bouveries' pursuit of more diminutively sized works of art.

For instance, in 1797, a painting was produced depicting Anne in a landscape setting by Ramsay Richard Reinagle (1775-1862), who would later become an associate of the Society of Painters in Watercolours (fig. 108).[140] Reinagle's portrait, in pen and ink with grey and coloured washes, and measuring approximately 5.6 x 7.5 inches, shows the sitter in the grounds of Longford Castle, seated below a tree next to a monument topped with a female bust and inscribed "Milady Countess of Radnor 1797". The sitter is separated from the castle by the River Avon, upon which a party of five are being rowed. The longstanding tradition of populating 'prospects' with figures, as Anne Laurence has suggested in relation to earlier topographical paintings, allowed a sense of the "ideally harmonious life and the peaceful prosperity of the owners" to be conveyed.[141]

This painting also functions as a miniaturised estate portrait. The representation significantly differs, however, from Haytley's aforementioned portrayal of Harriot at Coleshill. Reinagle achieved a sense of playfulness in the depiction, due to his inclusion of the rowing party and of a small dog at Anne's feet. The sitter's contemplative expression and position within the shade of the trees, meanwhile, links the portrait to the late eighteenth-century notion of female sensibility. Kim Sloan has identified the proclivity of artists to represent sitters alongside their houses or estates within drawn portraiture, with a particular focus upon the representation of emotion, sensibility, and a connection with nature in likenesses of women in this

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138 Lloyd, *Richard and Maria Cosway*, p. 13
139 Lloyd, *Richard and Maria Cosway*, p. 13
140 National Portrait Gallery, 'Ramsay Richard Reinagle', http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp03743/ramsay-richard-reinagle?search=sas&sText=reinagle&OConly=true (accessed 29th January 2015). Whereabouts unknown.
141 A. Laurence, 'Space, Status and Gender in English Topographical Paintings, c.1660-c.1740' in *Architectural History*, Vol. 46, 2003, pp. 81, 88

media.[142] An 1805 pencil and watercolour drawing of Anne by the portraitist and landscape draughtsman Henry Edridge (1768-1821), an artist known for his "eye for detail,"[143] also evokes this kind of atmosphere, again situating Anne beneath a tree in the park at Longford, with the castle in the distance (fig. 109). The recurrence of this type of representation again suggests the Bouveries' adherence to contemporary trends in their patronage.

Conclusion

The 2nd Earl's patronage of Cosway encapsulates many of the themes that have emerged throughout this chapter. Cosway, whose clients included royals and aristocrats such as Georgiana Cavendish, Duchess of Devonshire (1757-1806),[144] was one of the most fashionable artists that the family could have employed for their pictorial representation to society and to themselves. The presence of the period's most distinguished names at Longford Castle – such as Rysbrack, Hudson, Gainsborough, Reynolds, Hoppner, and Cosway – demonstrates how the 1st Viscount and 1st and 2nd Earls strove to patronise the most popular and highly paid artists of the day.

These were relationships often inaugurated and sealed through the family's involvement in eighteenth-century art world networks, such as the Society of Arts, implying the centrality of their roles within that institution to their tastes and subsequent patronage. Cosway's commissions for the family also illustrate their keenness to commission both large- and small-scale works of art, reflecting their acquisitions on the secondary market, which also encompassed works of a range of types and sizes, including historical portrait miniatures. Accordingly, the family achieved a sense of continuity and parity across their art collecting practice as a whole.

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[142] K. Sloan, 'From Merchant to Marquis: Portraits *en masse*' in S. Lloyd and K. Sloan, *The Intimate Portrait: Drawings, Miniatures and Pastels from Ramsay to Lawrence,* Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland and the British Museum, 2008, p. 165. See also Strong, *Artist and the Garden*, p. 62.
[143] National Portrait Gallery, 'Henry Edridge', http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp06933/henry-edridge?search=sas&sText=edridge&OConly=true (accessed 29th January 2015)
[144] For Cosway's other sitters from 1780 onwards, see Lloyd, *Richard and Maria Cosway*, pp. 116-130.

The Bouveries' artistic patronage during the course of the long eighteenth century was, for the most part, typical of that of other aristocratic collectors of the day. One fashionable type that is notably absent from Longford's collection, however, is the Grand Tour portrait,[145] explained by the three collectors' disinclination to travel the traditional route on the continent. However, the majority of their commissions were family portraits, executed in a range of media. Portraiture formed the bedrock of much eighteenth-century patronage, despite its perceived inferiority in the hierarchy of artistic genres and low cost relative to other household expenditure, because of its personal significance to families.[146] Moreover, portraiture was widely popular amongst collectors as houses could accommodate it easily, unlike large-scale history and religious paintings,[147] and English painters were noted for their aptitude in producing likenesses.[148] At Longford, portrait patronage was used to establish, document and root the identity of this socially ascending family, playing a key role in codifying and promoting their ascent. As well as portrait busts, contemporary artists also produced for the Bouveries what are considered some of the other most important types of eighteenth-century English sculpture: tomb monuments, and garden sculpture.[149]

The Longford patrons appear to have tempered their claims to of-the-moment fashionability by having themselves portrayed in a manner that evoked historical works of art. This chapter has shown that the depiction of Van Dyck costume was a motif the family continuously relied upon to ensure that the eighteenth-century family portraits fitted as harmoniously as possible with Longford's existing collection of art, but also to preclude the risk that the new commissions would quickly appear outdated. The creation of a comprehensive family portrait collection, documenting incumbents, their children, and the wider family, in a series of portraits that blended agreeably through their size, format and style reinforced a sense of lineage within the

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145 Portraits by Anton Raphael Mengs (1728-1779) and Pompeo Batoni (1708-1787) were frequently commissioned to commemorate an Englishman's travels in Italy (B. Ford, 'The Englishman in Italy' in Jackson-Stops (ed.) *Treasure Houses of Britain*, p. 48).
146 Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, pp. 51-52
147 J. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997, p. 457
148 F. Herrmann, 'Introduction' in F. Herrmann (ed.) *The English as Collectors: A Documentary Chrestomathy*, London: Chatto and Windus, 1972, p. 11
149 Baker, *Figured in Marble*, p. 94

Longford art collection. The Bouveries' portrait commissions worked on a number of temporal levels to evoke past, present and future, to codify and secure the family's carefully achieved social status.

Other aspects of the family's patronage also worked to convey and enshrine their membership of the aristocracy, such as copies of works from other prestigious country house art collections. Later in the century, copies of works from Longford itself were commissioned, perhaps to disseminate particular images to artistic society, or to provide a copy of a particularly favoured image for display at one of the family's other properties. For example, in 1773, the 1st Earl paid five guineas to "Vandergutch Junr. for copying my sons Picture".[150] It must also be remembered that, as we have seen was the case in relation to the decorative arts, artists were commissioned for other tasks including the upkeep, repair and repainting of portraits, or the production of prints after paintings. For instance, in 1749, Hudson – whose artistic practice also involved fulfilling such auxiliary duties as copying and repainting works of art[151] – was engaged to repaint the face of a picture of the 1st Viscount originally by the artist Jean-Baptiste Van Loo (1684-1745).[152]

Commissioned works of art explored in this chapter functioned in a number of ways: to commemorate members of the family, especially at important junctures within the sitters' lives; to make political and historical associations; to enshrine notions of dynasty and landownership; to explore the boundaries of conventional representation; and to demonstrate the family's prominence in and knowledge of the contemporary art world. The patronage of contemporary artists was thus a vital aspect of the establishment and continuance of the Longford art collections as 'heirlooms' for future generations.

150 WSHC 1946/3/1B/3
151 Miles, 'Introduction', unpaginated
152 WSHC 1946/3/1B/2

Chapter 6: Display

This chapter explores the ways in which the art acquisitions considered in Part Two were arranged and displayed in the late eighteenth century within the context of the interiors of Longford Castle. During the eighteenth century, four handwritten inventories of works of art at Longford were created, indicating the family's need and desire to document and keep track of their collection of heirlooms. This chapter focuses on the most detailed and comprehensive of these inventories, dated c.1780, and attributed to the 2nd Earl of Radnor.[1] This approximate date is supported by the fact that the inventory notes the presence of works of art acquired during the latter half of the eighteenth century, such as Sir Joshua Reynolds's depiction of Rebecca Alleyne, commissioned in 1760.[2]

The inventory records both paintings and sculpture, and it can reasonably be assumed that it was compiled as a working document by the 2nd Earl to assess and 'take stock' of the art collection, a few years after the death of his father in 1776, as the collection passed into his ownership and he embarked upon his own acquisitions and patronage. There is no evidence for the 2nd Earl having had any professional help in the compilation of this inventory, in contrast to when his son, William, 3rd Earl of Radnor, employed the art dealer John Smith to catalogue the collection in 1829, following his own inheritance of Longford.[3]

As the other eighteenth-century inventories of the collection detail very similar arrangements of the same contents, but are complicated by a number of crossings-out, it is difficult to look back from the c.1780 manuscript to previous display strategies at Longford. However, this chapter does also gesture forwards in time to an inventory of "Pictures at Longford Castle 1814 as at that Time situated",[4] to demonstrate the ways in which the arrangement of art changed, or, equally

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[1] Archivists consider this document "the only comprehensive [handwritten list of pictures and their situation at Longford] dating from 1780 in the handwriting of Jacob, 2nd Earl of Radnor" (Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre [hereafter WSHC] 1946/3/2A/1 Early catalogues of paintings at Longford 1748-1828).
[2] See WSHC 1946/3/1B/2 House book [of household and personal expenses of Sir Jacob Bouverie and William, 1st Earl of Radnor] 1745-1768 and WSHC 1946/3/1B/3 Account book [of personal expenditure of the 1st and 2nd Earls of Radnor] 1768-1795.
[3] WSHC 1946/3/2A/3 Catalogue of paintings at Longford Castle 1829
[4] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1

significantly, remained the same. This approach will mitigate the risk of the late eighteenth-century list appearing to give a definitive or static account of the display of art.[5] As scholars have noted, the eighteenth-century country house interior was rarely a fixed, unchanging entity. Francis Russell has observed that when new works of art arrived, hangs unavoidably required alteration.[6]

Four key spaces are explored in this chapter, as they represent four distinct approaches to the display of art at Longford, and show how certain rooms within the castle were appropriated for the display of different types of art. They are considered in the order in which they would most likely have been encountered on a tour of the house. The first section discusses entrance spaces at the castle, where family members were represented as an introduction to those arriving at Longford. The second section discusses the Long Parlour on the ground floor, home mainly, at this point in the eighteenth century, to family portraits. The third focuses upon a small first-floor Lobby, which housed a cabinet-style hang of small-scale works of art from a variety of schools. The final section discusses the Picture Gallery on the first floor, where particularly prestigious paintings and sculptures were displayed. This chapter also explores the potential effects of these displays of art upon a notional viewer.[7]

This chapter does not include discrete discussions of the arrangement of art at the Bouverie family's other properties, such as Coleshill House, Berkshire, and 52 Grosvenor Street, London, due to the limited amount of surviving evidence upon these topics. Instead, these alternative properties are discussed comparatively, where the available evidence is most pertinent and can contribute to our broader understanding of the Bouveries' attitudes towards the display of art.

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[5] In this way, the inventory as an archival source is potentially as misleading as visual portrayals of eighteenth-century interiors, which, as Hannah Greig has argued, "show the interior as furnished and complete", unlike manuscript diaries and letters which "routinely described [the domestic interior] as demanding renovation and repair" (H. Greig, 'Eighteenth-Century English Interiors in Image and Text' in J. Aynsley and C. Grant (eds.) *Imagined Interiors: Representing the Domestic Interior since the Renaissance*, London: V&A Publications, 2006, p. 126). In the absence of diaries and letters in the Longford archive describing the display of art at the castle, it must be remembered that the space was still liable to change.

[6] F. Russell, 'The Hanging and Display of Pictures, 1700-1850' in G. Jackson-Stops (ed.) *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House*, Washington D. C.: National Gallery of Art, 1989, p. 133

[7] Visitors' accounts of Longford will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Entrance Spaces: the Hall and the Lobby

An engraving of the plan of the ground floor at Longford Castle (fig. 12), made in 1766 and included in Volume V of *Vitruvius Britannicus*,[8] shows how one would enter the castle via the Hall, before encountering the Breakfast Room and a Lobby space connecting two Parlours. Due to Longford's triangular layout at this date, the rooms would necessarily have been experienced in a circuit, one after the other, and the memory of one room would have informed an individual's experience of the next. The contents of these initial spaces therefore merit particular attention in that they helped to form the visitor's initial perception of Longford. For the family living at the castle, they would have been experienced on a frequent basis, every time they entered their home. Some of the works of art that were displayed in the late eighteenth century in these spaces speak especially clearly of the family's identity, and suggest that they wished to project and affirm a certain type of image at the very threshold of their country seat.

In the late eighteenth-century inventory, the first work of art listed as present in the Hall was "A South West View of the House", hung "over the Chimney Peice".[9] This is likely to have been the aforementioned estate portrait by George Lambert commissioned by the 1st Viscount Folkestone in 1743 (fig. 76). A document of "Pictures at Coleshill House" made in 1828 also notes a "View of Longford Castle" on display in the South West Bedchamber.[10] Although patrons would often commission more than one estate view, it is possible that this also refers to the Lambert painting, which would suggest that it was later removed from Longford for display at Coleshill – a suggestion given credence by the fact that it was no longer present in the Hall at the time when the 1814 catalogue of pictures at Longford was compiled. At the castle, the estate view functioned to reaffirm one's sense of present place – both for family members, and visitors. At Coleshill, located in a bedchamber, it acted rather as a private reminder from afar of the main family seat. In the early nineteenth century, as suggested in Chapter 2, the 2nd Earl wished his heir to occupy

[8] The significance of Longford's inclusion within this publication will be discussed in Chapter 7.
[9] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1
[10] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1

Coleshill. Therefore, the painting may have functioned within the latter location to provide a reminder of the future 3rd Earl's inheritance.

Scholars have been divided over where estate portraiture was generally hung, suggesting that there was no clear received model for the display of this genre of art.[11] However, situated in a prominent position in the Hall at Longford, and as one of the first works of art viewed upon entering the castle, the Lambert painting would have made a strong opening statement about the Bouveries' landowning credentials. That this was the intended effect is corroborated by the fact that, when this estate view had been removed from the Hall, it was replaced by a painting that would have functioned in a similar manner to remind the family and their guests of the extent of the Bouveries' property. "A View of Folkestone Town Port" by William Marlow (1740-1813), recalling the family's landholdings in Kent, is listed as having been present in this room in 1814.[12]

The argument that the display of art within the Hall in the late eighteenth century spoke of the Bouveries' roles as landowners is substantiated by the other works of art that accompanied the Lambert painting. The late eighteenth-century inventory states that the chimneypiece was framed on either side by two sculptural busts: one portraying the Roman Emperor Tiberius (42 BC-37 AD) on the left, and one depicting the later Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius (121-180 AD) on the right. Moreover, it details "On the Left Hand of the Passage Door, A Cast from the famous Venus de Medicis"; "On the Right Side, A Mercury"; "On the Left Hand of the Breakfast Room Door, A Busto of M: Agrippa" and, "On the Right Side, A Busto of Sophocles."[13] It is notable that the inventory describes one of the sculptures in relation to its provenance, signifying the family's interest in documenting historical associations. This cast of classical characters may have been

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[11] See J. Harris, *The Artist and the Country House: A History of Country House and Garden View Painting in Britain 1540-1870*, London: Sotheby Park Bernet Publications, 1979, p. 154; A. Laurence, 'Space, Status and Gender in English Topographical Paintings, c.1660-c.1740' in *Architectural History*, Vol. 46, 2003, pp. 81-82; K. Boyd McBridge, *Country House Discourse in Early Modern England: A Cultural Study of Landscape and Legitimacy*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001, pp. 144-145; and G. Perry, K. Retford and J. Vibert, 'Introduction' in G. Perry, K. Retford and J. Vibert, *Placing Faces: The Portrait and the English Country House in the Long Eighteenth Century*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013, p. 18.
[12] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1
[13] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1. It is not known whether these sculptures were still present in the space in 1814, as the catalogue compiled at that date listed only "*Pictures* at Longford Castle 1814 as at that Time situated" (my emphasis) (WSHC 1946/3/2A/1). Current whereabouts unknown.

put on display in the Hall as the space had been renovated in the Palladian style in the early eighteenth century, as discussed in Chapter 2, and thus they would have chimed stylistically with their surroundings. Moreover, the ensemble would have continued the classical allusions introduced immediately outside upon the castle's exterior, which features what has been described as possibly "the first double loggia built in England", reminiscent of "the fashionable villas of Renaissance Italy and ancient Rome."[14]

As we have seen, in the eighteenth century, the concept of the country house was linked to the virtues of rural retirement, stemming from ancient Rome. Reinforcing that association, the classical busts in the Entrance Hall helped to proclaim the Bouveries' political power and status. This idea, moreover, would have been extended and reinforced as the visitor walked further into the castle. The inventory reveals that, upon reaching the Lobby, they would have encountered a further three marble busts, this time not depicting classical figures, but instead members of the family.

Moving from the antique to the contemporary, and thus bringing the viewer's understanding of Longford up-to-date, this space contained busts depicting the 1st Viscount (fig. 73) and his uncle, Hitch Young (dates unknown) by John Michael Rysbrack,[15] as well as a bust of Sir Mark Stuart Pleydell by Louis-François Roubiliac (fig. 110).[16] It is interesting to note the visual consolidation of the lines of Pleydell and Bouverie within this space, as it demonstrates that the family were keen to commemorate and promote this familial connection. Although, as shown in Chapter 5, Rysbrack had not portrayed the 1st Viscount in classicising dress, Roubiliac's bust shows Sir Mark draped in a Roman-style toga. The presence of a continued but

[14] N. Penny with the assistance of S. Avery-Quash, *A Guide to Longford Castle*, 2012, p. 6
[15] This bust is not recorded as present at Longford today. However, a bust by Rysbrack said to depict Sir Edward Bouverie is listed as present in the castle in the Christie's Inventory of the collection (Christie, Manson & Woods Ltd., *Inventory of Selected Chattels: The Earl of Radnor, Longford Castle*, 3 Vols., 27th October 2010, Vol. II, p. 182). This may be a misidentification, or the late eighteenth-century inventory may refer to a separate bust once at Longford but now removed.
[16] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1. The latter is believed to be the bust now in the National Trust Collections, on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum (see National Trust Collections, 'Sir Mark Stuart Pleydell, Bt. (c.1692/3-1768), aged 63', http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/1439109 [accessed 11th May 2015]).

updated allusion to the classical world would have helped to entrench the sense that the family were following in its tradition.

The display of an estate view, classical sculpted busts and contemporary portrait busts within the entrance spaces at Longford conforms with arrangements seen at other country houses, including sixteenth-century Burghley House, Lincolnshire. An 1815 guide to the latter collection noted that its Great Hall contained a "Nine Views of Burghley House, interior and exterior, in oil"; a stone coat-of-arms; and sculptures and casts of *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, *Venus* and a *Gladiator*.[17] At Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire, meanwhile, a bust of John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722) was placed "on the axis of a visitor's ceremonial route into the house",[18] whilst Henry Hoare II's painted portrait was hung in the entrance hall at Stourhead House, Wiltshire, so as to immediately make "a bold statement of the family's recently acquired wealth, status and power."[19] Sir Richard Colt Hoare, 2nd Baronet (1758-1838) later supplemented this portrait with a number of others, arguing that

> family portraits … [are] a very appropriate decoration for the first entrance into a house … They remind us of the genealogy of our families, and recall to our minds the hospitality, &c. of its former inhabitants, and on the first entrance of the friend, or stranger, seem to greet them with a SALVE, or welcome[20]

The art on show in the entrance rooms at Longford therefore demonstrates that the family conformed to wider trends regarding the display of painting and sculpture within the country house interior. Although none of the busts depict the 2nd Earl, Longford's owner at the moment of the c.1780 record, the sculptures would have provided a visitor with a proxy face-to-face encounter with various members of the

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[17] *A Guide to Burghley House, Northamptonshire, the Seat of the Marquis of Exeter; Containing a Catalogue of all the Paintings, Antiquities, &c. with Biographical Notices of the Artists*, Stamford: John Drakard, 1815

[18] See D. Brontë Green, *Blenheim Palace, Woodstock, Oxfordshire*, Oxford, 1986, p. 14 and M. Baker, *The Marble Index: Roubiliac and Sculptural Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2014, p. 137.

[19] Perry, Retford and Vibert, 'Introduction', p. 5. Painted portraits appear to have been concentrated within another space at Longford at this point in the eighteenth century, however, as will be discussed shortly.

[20] R. Colt Hoare, *The History of Modern Wiltshire*, 7 Vols., London: J. Nichols & Son [etc.], 1822-44, Vol. I, p. 70

family. Portrait busts were often displayed in the country house in order that the viewer might "[position] him or herself in relation to that owner", as Malcolm Baker has argued.[21] The contemporary dress in which the 1st Viscount was depicted would have helped achieve this effect, as it has also been suggested that an informal style of dress facilitated a "momentary encounter" between viewer and sitter, counteracting the permanency and greater formality of marble.[22]

The Long Parlour

The floor plan (fig. 12) demonstrates how the south side of the castle was once split into two rooms, labelled respectively as a 'Parlour', and a 'Drawing Room'. In the late eighteenth-century inventory, these rooms are identified as the 'Long Parlour' and the 'Withdrawing Room'.[23] The former merits particular attention as it contained a comprehensive collection of family portraits, arranged harmoniously and congruently, despite the fact that they were not all part of a set, and were painted at different times by different artists. That these portraits were kept at the family's relatively newly-established country seat, rather than one of their other properties, indicates that the Bouveries were thinking concordantly with other eighteenth-century country house owners, whose "ancestors were always in the country."[24] Giles Waterfield has suggested that family portraits were often located at country houses due to "reasons of space" and because they evoked the "family's roots in the land".[25] It was not uncommon, moreover, to see such portraits grouped together within the same room,[26] as had traditionally been the case in Elizabethan and Jacobean long galleries.

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[21] Baker, *Marble Index*, p. 122. See also pp. 128, 141.
[22] Baker, *Marble Index*, pp. 84-85
[23] The inventory is ambiguous as to what was housed in the latter room. Only one work of art is clearly listed as present: a "Bust of Sappho" by Thomas Scheemakers (1740-1808). A bas-relief and the "Rape of Helen" are listed on the opposite page, but it is unclear whether they were housed in the Long Parlour or the Withdrawing Room. The entry is notable, however, for being accompanied by a scrap of paper detailing the fact that Scheemakers won a Premium for the bas-relief in 1766 at the Society of Arts (WSHC 1946/3/2A/1).
[24] Perry, Retford and Vibert, 'Introduction', p. 3
[25] G. Waterfield, 'The Town House as Gallery of Art' in *The London Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 1995, p. 51
[26] J. Cornforth and J. Fowler, *English Decoration in the 18th Century*, London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1974, p. 243

Recent scholarship has demonstrated the fruitfulness of analysing the contexts in which portraits were hung. For example, Gill Perry, Kate Retford and Jordan Vibert have scrutinised the impact of architectural and decorative surroundings on portraits hung within country houses, and have investigated the meaningful ways in which specific poses, motifs or glances were carried between portraits to evoke relationships between sitters, or to suggest progress and the passage of time.[27] A number of familial connections are apparent within the hang of portraits in the Long Parlour at Longford. Most notably, paintings of husbands and wives were, unsurprisingly, hung next to one another. Sir Godfrey Kneller's depictions of the 1st Viscount's parents, Sir William des Bouverie (1656-1717) and Anne Urry (dates unknown), were adjacent. Meanwhile, a portrait of the 1st Viscount by Thomas Hudson was accompanied on either side by likenesses of Mary Clarke, his first wife, and Elizabeth Marsham (1711-1782), his second wife, by Jean-Baptiste Van Loo (1684-1745).[28]

Similarly, the picture hang also acknowledged both the first and second wives of the 1st Earl of Radnor. A painting by Hudson of the 1st Earl was accompanied on one side by Hudson's likeness of his first wife, Harriot Pleydell, and on the other, by Reynolds's later depiction of Rebecca, the 1st Earl's second wife (fig. 111). It is uncertain whether the Hudson portraits referred to are the pendants depicting the sitters in contemporary dress within feigned ovals (figs. 80 and 81), or those wherein they are portrayed wearing Van Dyck dress (figs. 82 and 83), all discussed in Chapter 5. However, it is most likely to be the latter pair, as they measure 49 x 39 inches, the same dimensions as Reynolds's portrait of Rebecca and many of the other paintings in the room, and they would thus have hung most comfortably in tandem. Although Rebecca is not portrayed in Van Dyck dress, these three portraits are united by a similar format and dark backgrounds filled with rich red drapery, and the two wives' dresses both consist of shades of blue and grey. As mentioned in Chapter 5 in relation to Reynolds and Hudson, the fact that the family patronised artists who had learnt from one another meant that their respective outputs hung congruently together.

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[27] Retford and Vibert, 'Introduction', pp. 2, 5-10
[28] See Appendix B for a family tree.

The presence of a range of portraits within the room might have been precipitated by the family's desire to showcase their patronage of fashionable and famous portraitists, past and present, and thus their wealth and status. However, the explicit acknowledgement of deceased spouses within the picture hang is notable. It was uncommon for painted portraits of the time to include more than one wife, although multiple wives would often feature on eighteenth-century monumental tomb sculpture.[29] As the Bouverie sitters were represented across discrete canvases, in a picture hang that functioned in a manner akin to a visual family tree, their depictions worked in a somewhat documentary manner, recording and reinforcing familial connections, much as tomb sculpture functioned in a "diagrammatic"[30] way. Just as the Duncombe porcelain service discussed in Chapter 3 highlighted affiliations made through marriages, the display of portraits in the Long Parlour similarly foregrounded such connections, through the representations of deceased wives and even those wives' own family members. For example, the inventory notes that portraits of Bartholomew Clarke (dates unknown) and his wife Mary Young (dates unknown),[31] the 1st Viscount's parents-in-law through his first marriage, by Van Loo and Michael Dahl respectively, were also juxtaposed within the room.

However, the family's future as well as its past was evoked through the picture hang. Reynolds's portrait of the 2nd Earl as a child in Van Dyck costume was displayed in the most prominent position within the room: the space over the chimneypiece. In 1768, the architect Isaac Ware wrote that "the conspicuous side of a room is that in which a chimney is placed",[32] demonstrating the importance of this location in the eyes of contemporaries. Matthew Craske has noted that portraits of venerated individuals, such as a family's sponsor or an illustrious ancestor, might well be located near the hearth, as the hearth was understood, and depicted in conversation pieces of the time, as "sacred to rites of patriarchal succession."[33] That the Bouveries

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[29] K. Retford, 'A Death in the Family: Posthumous Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England' in *Art History*, Vol. 33, No. 1, February 2010, pp. 87-93
[30] Retford, 'Death in the Family', p. 93
[31] Current whereabouts of the latter unknown.
[32] I. Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture, adorned with Plans and Elevations from Original designs, Etc.*, London: T. Osborne and J. Shipton, 1768, p. 475
[33] M. Craske, 'Conversations and Chimneypieces: the Imagery of the Hearth in Eighteenth-Century English Family Portraiture' in *British Art Studies*, Issue 2, 2016, http://dx.doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-02/mcraske (accessed 20th September 2016), unpaginated

hung a portrait of their heir in this significant position suggests their concern with anticipating the continuation of their dynasty into the future.

Similarly, at Wolterton Hall, Norfolk, the architect, Thomas Ripley (1682-1758), arranged the "most prestigious portraits" above chimneypieces,[34] and, at Coleshill, although the original date of the arrangement is unknown, a portrait of the 1st Earl hung above the fireplace in the Library until the early twentieth century.[35] Since ancient times, the hearth had evoked notions of home, ancestry, and hospitality, and, in the eighteenth century, it functioned as the focus of domesticity, with country house hearths often decorated with heraldic motifs.[36] When considering that parlours especially were a location of everyday domestic interaction, it is significant the picture hang within this room at Longford made an allusion to familial descent by foregrounding the image of the heir. As we have seen, the eighteenth-century chimneypiece in the Long Parlour contained acorn motifs, suggestive of the family's sense of Englishness. The decoration and contents of the room therefore worked together as a whole to foreground the family's dynastic identity.

This location is also interesting for what it suggests about the way in which the painting was framed. Although the late eighteenth-century inventory does not frequently give details about how works of art were framed, this painting is today housed in an overmantel frame (fig. 112).[37] The interpretation of frames is perennially problematic for the historian, as, in the absence of clear documentation, it is not always possible to state that a frame, even if contemporary with the painting it houses, has always contained that painting, and not been added at a later date.[38] In this case, due to the overmantel position of the portrait listed in the inventory, one

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[34] A. Moore, 'Hanging the Family Portraits' in A. Moore with C. Crawley, *Family and Friends: A Regional Survey of British Portraiture*, Norfolk Museums Service, London: HMSO, 1992, p. 38

[35] H. Avray-Tipping, 'Coleshill House. Berkshire. II' in *Country Life*, Vol. XLVI, 2nd August 1919, p. 145. As will be discussed shortly, there is evidence that this painting was hung at Coleshill in the early nineteenth century, but not regarding its specific location at that time.

[36] Craske, 'Conversations and Chimneypieces', unpaginated. Although the chimneypieces at Longford do not bear coats of arms, Pratt and Forster arms could be seen on the chimneypiece in the Library and the Pleydell arms upon the chimneypiece in the Saloon at Coleshill (Avray-Tipping, 'Coleshill House. Berkshire. II', p. 145).

[37] See Penny with the assistance of Avery-Quash, *Guide to Longford Castle*, p. 16.

[38] See H. Heydenryk, *The Art and History of Frames: An Inquiry into the Enhancement of Paintings*, London: Nicholas Vane (Publishers) Ltd, 1964, p. 5 and N. Penny, 'Frame Studies: I: Reynolds and Picture Frames' in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 128, No. 1004, published with assistance from Arnold Wiggins & Sons, November 1986, p. 810.

might conjecture that this frame was indeed the one used for this painting during the eighteenth century. This would, to an extent, have fixed the painting in its prominent position and precluded, as far as possible, its removal elsewhere. Shearer West has argued that fixed frames were a crucial means by which eighteenth-century country house owners could allude to "a real continuity in the seat and its inhabitants".[39] This "desire for permanence"[40] was a particularly apposite aspiration for the Bouveries, who had only been in residence at Longford since 1717, and were eager to entrench and secure their social status.

It is likely that it was the 1st Earl who devised this arrangement of pictures, given that it foregrounded the portrait of his heir, and because no portraits of the 2nd Earl as an adult are noted as having been present in this room (or, indeed, in the castle as a whole at this time). Later in his tenure, the 2nd Earl completely overhauled the display strategy in the Long Parlour, changing its contents and character entirely. This reminds us of the fact that, although devices such as architectonic overmantel frames may have been used to prevent or make less likely the removal of particular works of art, the display of art at Longford over the course of the long eighteenth century was fluid and evolving, following contemporary trends and the varying predilections of different owners.

According to the 1814 catalogue, the Long Parlour did not contain any family portraits in the early nineteenth century, but instead an array of old master landscapes and portraits, then attributed to artists such as Jacob Van Ruisdael (1628/9-1682), David Teniers, Gaspard Dughet, Aelbert Cuyp (1620-1691) and Sir Anthony Van Dyck, amongst others.[41] However, family portraits continued to hang together in the castle. For example, many of those which had previously hung in the Long Parlour, such as Kneller's depictions of Sir William and his wife; Hudson's portrait of the 1st Viscount; and Van Loo's portraits of the 1st Viscount's two wives, were relocated to the Breakfast Room.[42] The portrait by Thomas Gainsborough of

[39] S. West, 'Framing Hegemony: Economics, Luxury and Family Continuity in the Country House Portrait' in P. Duro (ed.) *The Rhetoric of the Frame: Essays on the Boundaries of the Artwork*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 69, 71
[40] West, 'Framing Hegemony', p. 71
[41] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1
[42] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1

Anne Duncombe, described as "Wife of Jacob",[43] accompanied these, showing that the display of family members had been brought up-to-date.

Some of the more private spaces within the castle, such as bedchambers, were also considered suitable for the display of portraits in the early nineteenth century. This also seems to have been the case at 52 Grosvenor Street. "A descriptive List of Pictures at Lord Radnors House in Grosvenor Street, By Old Masters" made in 1820, one of the only available sources detailing the artistic contents of that property during the period under scrutiny, notes paintings present in two bedrooms, a dressing room, a "Slip Closet" and a nursery.[44] The works of art include portraits of several unidentified sitters, including one attributed to Sir Peter Lely, and also portraits of members of the royal house of Orange. At Longford, a particularly interesting arrangement of portraits was recorded in 1814 as present in the Green Bedchamber, in a sketch plan with a key (fig. 113).[45] The document notes that three portraits by Gainsborough, depicting the 1st Earl's younger sons by his second wife, Rebecca were hung in the room: presumably those commissioned in the early 1770s (figs. 95, 96, 97). The arrangement is significant, as the portraits by Van Dyck of King Charles I and Henrietta Maria (fig. 53) (labelled numbers 2 and 19 on the sketch plan) were also hung in the room.

As noted in Chapter 5, Gainsborough's portraits of the 1st Earl's sons showed the sitters dressed in clothes that referenced Van Dyck costume. This arrangement of art suggests that the family were explicitly conscious of the stylistic influence at play in Gainsborough's work, and wished to amplify it through juxtaposition with Van Dyck's own work. In their discussion of the Bouveries' and others' patronage of Gainsborough, Deborah Cherry and Jennifer Harris noted that "such portraits would have been fitting companions to works by Van Dyck", but also that "we have

[43] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1

[44] The list contains notes regarding whether works of art require cleaning, suggesting its function was bound up with the family's desire to care for and conserve their art collection, but it is labelled on the reverse "not to be opened unnecessarily", making its purpose ultimately unclear (WSHC 1946/3/4A/5 List of pictures at Grosvenor Street 1820).

[45] A later hand has added a number of changes to the hang (for example, noting that certain paintings are now "in [the] India Paper Bedroom"). However, this discussion will consider the original layout that was documented, before this over-writing presumably took place.

as yet little information on how these collections were hung."[46] This sketch plan therefore provides a valuable insight into the fact that paintings by these two artists were displayed within the same room at Longford.

An 1833 inventory of "Furniture, China, Glass &c." at Coleshill hints at the arrangement of family portraits in that house at the end of our period, allowing some comparison with the display at Longford. The inventory is mostly concerned with items of furniture, but it does reveal that thirty-three pictures, unidentified but described as primarily family portraits, were housed in the Library at this date, and that a further thirteen "cheifly Family" pictures were located in the Study.[47] This evidence concurs with a "List of Lord Radnor's Family Pictures at Coleshill House", drawn up as part of an 1828 inventory, which documents fifty portraits, although not their precise locations.[48] The sitters range from the 1st Viscount, to Sir Mark Pleydell, and members of the Forster and Barrett families, whose portraits might have hung at Coleshill prior to the Bouveries' period of ownership, or which might have been those purchased by the 2nd Earl, discussed in Chapter 4. The list also includes a portrait of the 1st Earl by Hudson, which may have been one of the thirty-three family pictures located in the Library, perhaps the one mentioned above as hanging over the fireplace in the twentieth century.[49] In this significant location, it would have recalled, for the viewer, the 1st Earl's central role in bringing together the families whose likenesses surrounded him.

As no corresponding list has survived documenting other types of painting at Coleshill, such as landscapes or narrative paintings, and because few other pictures are listed amongst the contents of other rooms in the 1833 inventory,[50] it may be that family portraits formed the majority of the works of art located at Coleshill at

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[46] D. Cherry and J. Harris, 'Eighteenth-Century Portraiture and the Seventeenth-Century Past: Gainsborough and Van Dyck' in *Art History*, Vol. 5, No. 3, September 1982, p. 306

[47] Berkshire Record Office (hereafter BRO) D/EPb/F30 General inventory of household goods [at Coleshill House] … 1833

[48] WSHC 1946/3/2A/2 Catalogues of paintings at Longford Castle 1828-1849

[49] The presence of this painting corroborates the suggestion, made in Chapter 5, that paintings by Hudson unaccounted for in the Longford accounts were commissioned for Coleshill, possibly by Sir Mark, and later transferred to Longford.

[50] Two pictures housed in gilt frames were hung in the Drawing Room, alongside two portraits in wax, and one picture in a gilt frame was recorded as present in the Countess of Radnor's bedroom, as were one picture apiece in the South East, North East and South West Bedrooms (BRO D/EPb/F30).

the end of the long eighteenth century. As in the Long Parlour at Longford at this time, portraits were displayed to broadcast a sense of dynasty. Marcia Pointon has suggested that portraits were hung in the eighteenth-century interior so as to "ensure a general statement is to be understood, transcending the meaning of any particular image":[51] at both locations, these collections of portraits were greater than the sum of their parts, working *en masse* to communicate the family's heritage and identity, and its past, present, and future.

Small Spaces: the First-Floor Lobby

The first-floor Lobby, located adjacent to the Gallery and directly above the ground-floor Lobby discussed earlier, is worth considering due to its distinctive display of works of art during the eighteenth century. Although not a principal room, and not even labelled on the 1766 ground plan (fig. 13) the Lobby contains the highest number of individual works of art of the rooms listed within the late eighteenth-century inventory: thirty-three in total. This is striking, particularly given the relatively small size of the space. The hang of these works of art, which were mainly, but not exclusively, small-scale oil paintings, is described in the list, with precise details as to the arrangement given, such as; "over the Staircase Door … On the Rt. Side of the Door The Upper Picture … The Lower … The Large Picture … The Upper Pictures".[52] This gives the sense of a crowded yet systematised arrangement of works of art, notable not only for their number, but also for the fact that they comprised a mixture of genres and schools of art.

The pictures on display included landscapes, subject pictures, still lifes, religious paintings, and portraits. Their subjects were equally diverse and included "A Flemish Wake", "The Annunciation of ye Virgin Mary", "An Holy Family with Friars", "a Landscape", "A drawing of Nicolas Poussin's adoration of the golden Calf", "A Sea-Piece", "The Story of David, & Nathan", and "A Portrait of Laurence des Bouverie Who fled into England on account of his Religion from Chateau des Bouveries near

[51] M. Pointon, *Hanging the Head*: *Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*, Yale University Press: New Haven & London for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1993, pp. 14-16
[52] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1

Lisle in Flanders, A:D: 1567" (fig. 4).[53] The artists to whom these and various other works were attributed at the time included the Northern painters Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), Hans Rottenhammer (1564-1625), Sir Peter Paul Rubens, Van Dyck, Rembrandt, and Van Ruisdael, and the Italians Filippo Lippi (1406-1469), Andrea del Sarto (1486-1530), Carlo Maratta (1625-1713), and Sebastiano Ricci (1659-1734), amongst others.[54]

This mixed display would have encouraged viewers to stop in their progress around the castle to take in the volume of works of art in this space, the room's contents perhaps confounding their prior expectations of what might lie in store. The small scale of the room would also surely have prompted the viewer to pause and engage in some close looking, contemplating some or all of the paintings and drawings individually, many of which had a high level of finish and detail. The change in the style of display here would therefore have slowed down the visitor's pace on their circuit of the rooms, encouraging them to experience different kinds of art at a different tempo.

One can interpret this arrangement as a cabinet-style hang. Alastair Laing has described the process of "segregating smaller and more precious pictures into a special room of appropriate scale", attributing the genesis of this form of display to the early modern tradition of displaying smaller art objects in wunderkammers, studiolos and cabinets of curiosities, but also to the fact that parts of the Orléans collection had been arranged in a similar manner, contributing to the British taste for cabinet-sized paintings from the Netherlands.[55] A number of country houses, including Corsham Court, Wiltshire, and Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire, contained at this time a small cabinet next to the principal picture gallery, intended for accommodating paintings by the Dutch school.[56] However, although these are useful parallels, including the fact the the Lobby was positioned adjacent to the Gallery, the mode of display adopted at Longford cannot be said to conform neatly to this

[53] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1. Current whereabouts of the former five unknown.
[54] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1
[55] A. Laing, *In Trust for the Nation: Paintings from National Trust Houses*, London: The National Trust in association with National Gallery Publications, 1995, pp. 119, 155, 157
[56] G. Jackson-Stops with the assistance of F. Russell, 'The Dutch Cabinet' in Jackson-Stops (ed.) *Treasure Houses of Britain*, p. 354

definition of the cabinet-style hang, as it was not restricted to pictures by Northern artists.

In his study of the reception of Dutch genre painting in England, Harry Mount suggested that "small, highly-finished pictures of *all* schools were hung together."[57] Indeed, unlike on the continent, division into schools was, in matter of fact, fairly uncommon in English private houses.[58] One of the examples cited by Mount is that of Houghton Hall, Norfolk, which provides a useful comparator with Longford. Houghton also contained a 'Cabinet Room', the contents of which were not confined to one school, but comprised fifty-one small-scale paintings by artists including Annibale Carracci, Carlo Dolci (1616-1686), Rottenhammer, and Adam Elsheimer (1578-1610), portraying classical and religious subjects.[59] It also contained oil sketches by Rubens,[60] just as the Lobby at Longford contained "a Sketch, The Wise Mens Offerings by Reubens."[61] However, a key difference between these two spaces was that Houghton's Cabinet Room had been built for purpose, whilst Longford's owners had appropriated an existing space within the sixteenth-century castle. Although conveniently located adjacent to the Gallery, this was, nonetheless, as the floor plans show, a rather awkwardly shaped transitional space, used for accessing further rooms, rather than a room initially designed primarily for the viewing of art. It therefore demonstrates the way in which the Bouveries adapted the existing layout of the castle to follow trends regarding the display and viewing of art collections.

The fact that the inventory carefully recorded the location of each work of art within the first-floor Lobby indicates that the picture hang had been thoughtfully considered. A sense of symmetry and harmony can be gleaned from the description. For example, to the right of the door to the Gallery, two paintings were hung, one above the other, and this arrangement was mirrored on the left hand side of the door. As a space that would have been encountered when accessing the Gallery, the

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[57] H. Mount, 'The Reception of Dutch Genre Painting in England 1695-1829', unpublished PhD thesis, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 1991, p. 66. My italics.
[58] Laing, *In Trust for the Nation*, p. 119
[59] T. Morel, 'The Cabinet Room' in T. Morel (ed.) *Houghton Revisited*, first published on the occasion of the exhibition 'Houghton Revisited: The Walpole Masterpieces from Catherine the Great's Hermitage', 2013, London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2013, p. 138
[60] Morel, 'Cabinet Room', p. 138
[61] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1. Current whereabouts unknown.

most prestigious room within the castle, it is notable that the Lobby also contained pictures of great significance to the family, such as the portrait of their ancestor, the Huguenot refugee Laurens des Bouverie. Given the potential for regular, proximate viewing that it offered, this space reminds us of the extent to which displays of art would have been configured to facilitate the family's personal enjoyment of their art collection. Paintings were fitted into the room to encourage engagement and appreciation.[62] Whilst any of these smaller works might have felt 'lost', displayed in isolation, or within a larger room, this dense arrangement consolidated them, making the most of an unusually laid out space within the castle, the purpose of which was otherwise undefined.

The Lobby is described in all the handwritten eighteenth-century inventories, and in the 1814 catalogue. Significantly, the contents and approach to display seem to have been much the same across all these moments of record. At all times, the space contained a mixed hang of numerous works of art. For example, other eighteenth-century inventories detail "A Flemish Wake", Jan Brueghel's "Flower Piece" (fig. 63), the drawing of Poussin's *Adoration of the Golden Calf*, and Maratta's "Holy Family", amongst other pictures.[63] Various crossings-out provide indications as to changes in the precise arrangement of these pictures. For instance, identified positions such as "The Upper Picture" and "On the Right Side of the Gallery door" are crossed through in one inventory, suggesting that certain pictures had been relocated. However, despite these minor alterations made over time, inventories of the Lobby show that it was, by and large, consistently hung.

In 1814, this room was described as the "Anti-Room to the Gallery" and contained a total of forty-nine pictures. Again, a number of schools of art were represented, and the subjects ranged from religious scenes to landscapes and portraits. For instance, the space housed constant fixtures such as Brueghel's *Flower Piece* and Maratta's *Holy Family*, as well as the family's portraits of John Calvin (fig. 54) and Théodore de Bèze. The display of art within the Lobby therefore demonstrates the sustained

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[62] Similarly, Susannah Brooke has argued that at Samuel Rogers's (1763-1855) London town house, "the experience of viewing his pictures … was his highest concern", and that he "purchased smaller versions of pictures and carefully arranged the melange of objects to fit the existing accommodation" (S. Brooke, 'Private Art Collections and London Town Houses, 1780-1830', unpublished PhD thesis, Queens' College, Cambridge, 2013, p. 154).

[63] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1. Current whereabouts and attributions of all except the Brueghel unknown.

confluence of a range of traditions, precedents, and fashions at Longford – the Dutch cabinet, the mixed hang of small-scale paintings, and the cabinet of curiosities.

The Gallery

The Gallery, on the first floor and running along the south side of Longford's original triangular structure, has been home, since the eighteenth century, to some of the Bouveries' most prestigious and expensive art acquisitions. The late eighteenth-century inventory provides evidence of the way in which many paintings and sculptural works, including large-scale paintings from the French and Italian schools, portraits by Hans Holbein the Younger, and bronze statuettes, were displayed in this space. At this point in time, the Gallery appears to have been conceived as a domain for the display of the family's most *interesting*, as well as most high-status works of art – a distinct character that was upheld in later years with the addition of subsequent acquisitions, such as Holbein's *The Ambassadors* (fig. 70) and the Steel Chair (fig. 41), which came to shape visitors' experiences of Longford and consequently to define its collection.

The inventory surveys the room from the point of view of a visitor entering from the Lobby, beginning with mention of one of the paintings by Claude Lorrain purchased by the 1st Viscount in 1737. As with many of the works of art located in the Gallery, and indicating the importance ascribed to them, the inventory affords this painting an extended description: "On the left Hand, A Prospect of the Sun rising in the Bay of Naples, with the representation of Aeneas his Landing on the Right Side on an Eminence is represented the Temple of the Sybills, & at a distance is seen the Island of [Caprie?], by Claude Lorain."[64] The inventory's final entry for this room is the other painting by Claude, bought alongside it in 1737. It is described thus: "At the End of the Room. An Evening, wherein is represented Titus's Triumphal arch after the Conquest of Jerusalem, as now standing at Rome; An Aqueduct; & an Ampitheatre as now standing at Nimes in France, and the [?],

[64] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1

whereon formerly stood the temple of Jupiter."[65] It appears, therefore, that these two paintings were displayed at the time in their current positions within the Gallery: directly opposite one another, 'bookending' the space (figs. 114 and 115). Other eighteenth-century inventories concur with this arrangement.

Although painted six years apart,[66] the Claudes were clearly understood in the eighteenth century as a pair, and displayed accordingly. Nicholas Penny has observed that Claude painted many companion pieces contrasting dawn and dusk, and a lake or river landscape with a coastal or port scene, and that they were intended to be displayed opposite one another.[67] Colin Bailey has also described how a sense of "balance and symmetry" was attained within eighteenth-century French interiors by pairing works of art, including, at times, paintings by different artists: a technique which responded to a "deeply rooted aesthetic need".[68] The Bouveries may have been following a precedent set by the paintings' previous display in Paris, when in the collection of Jeanne Baptiste d'Albert du Luynes, Countess of Verrue, by continuing to hang them as a pair, despite the fact that they were not originally conceived as such.

In the Gallery at Longford, the pairing of the Claudes did not simply make for a neat arrangement, structuring the hang and organising the room, but was particularly apposite due to the paintings' subject matter. As the viewer enters the room, they encounter a representation of 'sunrise', and, as they leave, they see an image of 'sunset', lending a sense of decorum to the picture hang, and symbolising the beginning and end of the visitor's tour around the room. As an introduction and finishing note to the works of art housed within the Gallery, the paintings would have acted to reinforce the prestige of the Bouveries' collection.

Several other paintings were hung as pairs at Longford during the long eighteenth century. For instance, a sketch plan of the picture hang in the Round Bedchamber within the 1814 catalogue shows the symmetrical arrangement of John Wootton's

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[65] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1
[66] Penny with the assistance of Avery-Quash, *Guide to Longford Castle*, p. 22
[67] Penny with the assistance of Avery-Quash, *Guide to Longford Castle*, p. 22
[68] C. Bailey, *Patriotic Taste: Collecting Modern Art in Pre-Revolutionary Paris*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002, p. 4

"Morning" and "Evening",[69] which each topped two other paintings, hung in a triangular configuration (fig. 116). Frans Hals's (1582/3-1666) "Old Man" and "Old Woman" were hung next to one another, forming the bottom row of one of these triangles, and two paintings respectively titled "Young Man" and "Young Woman with a Pen in her Hand" formed the bottom row of the other triangle.[70] The convention of displaying pendants decorously within symmetrical picture hangs therefore also extended to some of the more private spaces within the castle.

The Claude landscapes at Longford were notably hung within a room that afforded the viewer a view over the castle's gardens and grounds, intersected by the River Avon. As we have seen, during the 1760s and 1770s, the design of the gardens at Longford was relatively informal, the space punctuated only by classically inspired features such as an obelisk and a "rock with arcade" (fig. 24).[71] At Holkham Hall, Norfolk, a dedicated Landscape Room was hung with the works of Claude, Poussin and Salvator Rosa (1615-1673), believed to embody the notion of the picturesque, so as to complement "the Arcadian landscape of serpentine woods and lakes outside the windows."[72] A similar concern for harmony between interior and exterior is evident in the arrangement at Longford, as the combination of water and trees depicted in the Claudes would have been mirrored by the gardens outside. The impulse to display large-scale landscapes within the Gallery appears to have also been felt later in the period: the 1814 catalogue reveals that the large-scale painting depicting the invented wild landscape of the Escurial, acquired in 1791, was also hung in this room.[73]

Whilst complementing their surroundings, the Claudes were also displayed in a manner that drew attention to their status as highly prestigious and distinguished works of art. They have been housed since the early eighteenth century in French carved and gilded frames, presumably acquired for the paintings when they were housed in the collection of the Countess of Verrue (figs. 117 and 118). The fact that these frames almost exactly match reinforces the sense of the paintings as a pair.

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[69] Current whereabouts unknown.
[70] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1. Current whereabouts of the latter two paintings unknown.
[71] WSHC 1946/3/2G/2 Alterations to the garden and grounds [c.1760]-1814
[72] G. Jackson-Stops with the assistance of F. Russell, 'Landscape and the Picturesque' in Jackson-Stops (ed.) *Treasure Houses of Britain*, p. 376
[73] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1

Furthermore, the retention of these ornate frames at Longford speaks of the Bouveries' desire to recall the paintings' provenance, and to celebrate their calibre by continuing to display them in some of the finest frames then available.

Although the 2nd Earl refrained from describing many paintings' frames within the late eighteenth-century inventory of the collection, one important exception is that of the painting of the Palace of Fontainebleau, France, and its surrounding landscape by Jean-Baptiste Martin (1659-1735). The inventory notes that this painting, then housed in the Breakfast Room, "has been in some of the French King's collections, as may be seen by the Frame."[74] The frame, which is understood to be original to the painting, bears relief carvings depicting the royal monogram (fig. 119).[75] The retention of these important French frames, and the description afforded to the royal frame in the inventory, suggests their importance in communicating provenance.

Two further paintings housed in the Gallery in the late eighteenth century were also displayed in identical, very fine French frames: Poussin's *The Adoration of the Golden Calf* and *The Crossing of the Red Sea*. Their elaborate frames date to the early eighteenth century; are considered to be some of the finest outside the Palace of Versailles; and are believed to have been made for a "highly fashionable Parisian interior" in 1710.[76] The Bouveries purchased these two pendant paintings through a dealer in Paris in 1741,[77] and it appears that, as with the Claudes, they also simultaneously acquired the frames in which they were housed, which have stayed with the paintings to the present day. The frames again would have spoken of the paintings' illustrious provenance, and surrounded them with an aura of grandeur, thus reaffirming the Bouveries' fashionable taste and wealth to whoever viewed these paintings.

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[74] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1
[75] Penny with the assistance of Avery-Quash, *Guide to Longford Castle*, p. 24
[76] National Gallery Frame Dossier F5597
[77] The pictures were painted as pendants, and commissioned by Amedeo dal Pozzo, marchese di Voghera (1579-1644) for his palazzo in Turin, Italy (National Gallery of Victoria, http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/4271/ [accessed 26th July 2016]). For more on the provenance of these paintings, see H. Wine, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Seventeenth Century French Paintings*, London: Yale University Press and the National Gallery Company, 2001, cat. NG 5597, p. 314.

These esteemed works of the French school were accompanied in the Gallery by a number of Italian old master paintings, with mainly religious subject matters, such as "St. Sebastian, designed, & drawn by Michael Angelo Buonarotti, colored by Sebastian del Piombo, & said to have attained a [Price?] against Raphael", "The Virgin at her devotions by Carlo Maratti" and "A Magdalen by Guido."[78] Works attributed to these highly regarded Italian artists would have augmented the viewer's sense of the family's connoisseurial acumen and fine taste. Moreover, those credentials are further suggested by the decorative context in which these works of art were hung. As noted in Chapter 3, in 1740, the 1st Viscount decorated the Gallery at great expense with green damask to complement the art collection. His choice of green, rather than red, however, may speak of the fact that he did not collect Italian art extensively; for instance, on a Grand Tour. Although, as we have seen, green was also considered an appropriate backdrop, Cornforth has suggested that crimson was considered "the grandest and most suitable for pictures",[79] and Gervase Jackson-Stops and James Pipkin have noted a preference for this colour amongst aristocratic collectors due to its particular warmth and affinity with Italian pictures, particularly those of the Bolognese school which were admired by English Grand Tourists.[80]

The fact that the Gallery contained a range of works of art from different schools concurs with the idea proposed by Laing that private art collections prior to the nineteenth-century inauguration of art museums such as the National Gallery, London, tended to contain a mixed hang.[81] For instance, the late eighteenth-century inventory also notes the presence of paintings of "Egidius, Erasmus's Friend, Hans Holbein" and "Erasmus – Hans Holbein" (figs. 64 and 65) hanging either side of Guido Reni's *Magdalen*. These paintings may have been considered particularly suitable for display in this room as, in the eighteenth century, they were, like the Claudes and Poussins, understood and presented as a pair. Russell has argued, "individual works might be enlarged or reduced to serve as pendants",[82] and, indeed,

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[78] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1. Current whereabouts unknown.
[79] J. Cornforth, 'A Georgian Patchwork' in Jackson-Stops (ed.) *Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House*, p. 165
[80] G. Jackson-Stops and J. Pipkin, *The English Country House: A Grand Tour*, Boston: Little, Brown and Company; Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1985, p. 145
[81] Laing, *In Trust for the Nation*, p. 119
[82] Russell, 'Hanging and Display of Pictures', p. 144. This happened to a number of portraits at Knole, Kent (Russell, 'Hanging and Display of Pictures', pp. 144-145).

the portrait of Aegidius had been enlarged on all sides at one point in its history to match that of Erasmus.[83]

Paintings by certain Northern artists, such as Van Dyck, were certainly considered appropriate for display in a Gallery alongside Renaissance Italian works.[84] However, taste for the work of Holbein, as noted in Chapter 4, was more unusual for an eighteenth-century art collector. The fact that the Bouveries hung two portraits by Holbein in the Gallery indicates the esteem in which they personally held his work, and that their picture arrangements were predicated upon personal taste, as well as more broadly held ideals. The 2nd Earl later also hung Holbein's painting of *The Ambassadors* in the Gallery: it is described in the 1814 catalogue as "(Story unknown) – Holbein."[85] The 2nd Earl's decision to display it within this space was perhaps governed by personal taste; by the fact that the room already contained works by the master; or quite possibly by practical constraints, due to the painting's large size. The green fabric depicted in the background of the painting would also have been complemented by the green damask wall hangings of the Gallery, creating a sense of continuity between the painted scene and the picture's surroundings.

As well as old master paintings, the late eighteenth-century inventory notes a number of sculptural works of art present in the Gallery at this time. Again, the inventory reveals an interest in recording the history and associations of certain pieces. It mentions, for example: "The Vases are casts from the famous Vases, in the grand Duke of Tuscany's palace, which are of Corinthian Brass."[86] As shown in Chapter 3, these vases were included in the 1st Viscount's list of furnishings and decorative items "Layed out on the Gallery at Longford", thus were clearly valued for their decorative qualities. However, the fact that they also appear within this inventory of fine art – which does not provide an account of items of furniture – indicates that the family considered them of equal status to the paintings that were also housed in the Gallery. It demonstrates how certain pieces could be classified as both decorative

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[83] Penny with the assistance of Avery-Quash, *Guide to Longford Castle*, p. 13
[84] G. Jackson-Stops with the assistance of F. Russell, 'Augustan Taste' in Jackson-Stops (ed.) *Treasure Houses of Britain*, p. 322
[85] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1. Its precise location within the room is unknown, as it is uncertain whether the order in which the paintings are listed in this inventory corresponds to their position within the room.
[86] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1

items, and works of fine art, and how the boundaries between these two categories were not clear-cut.

The small-scale bronze representations of the River Nile and River Tiber (figs. 59 and 60) acquired by the 1st Viscount were displayed upon marble-topped console tables between windows in the Gallery.[87] A statuette of "The rape of Deianira by Nessus the Centaur" was also placed upon a table. This type of display was common within the eighteenth-century country house interior, and would have lent prestige and authority to the display at Longford. In the Saloon at Houghton Hall, for example, a reduced version in bronze of the famous marble sculpture of *The Rape of the Sabines* by Giambologna (1529-1608) was positioned upon a marble pier table.[88] This method of display enhanced the three-dimensionality of such bronzes, encouraging viewers to consider them from the side, as well as frontally.

According to the inventory, the Gallery also contained some pieces of marble sculpture. The list details "A Busto of Jacob Visct Folkestone The Term is of german Marble"; "Between the Vases … A Busto of Hitch Young, Esq: The term is of german Marble"; "The Busto on the Top of the Chimney Peice, William Earl of Radnor."[89] Also listed are "The smaller Busto's Solon, the Athenian Lawgiver. Hippocrates, the famous Phisician. A: Marcius, King of Rome & Marcus Agrippa, son in law & general to [?] N: B: The Heads are of, touch stone, the Shoulders, Agate, the Pedestal Porphry".[90] Curiously, as we have seen earlier in this chapter, the inventory also lists marble busts depicting some of these individuals, such as the 1st Viscount and Young, as present in the ground floor Lobby. As only one set of busts by Rysbrack exists today at Longford, it is difficult to account for this repetition. One might conjecture that the busts were moved during the process of recording the display of art for the inventory, or that one of the sets consisted of copies.

Regardless, the recorded presence of marble sculpture in the Gallery is important, as it again demonstrates the breadth of art forms that this room accommodated. One must recall that, as attested by both the inventory and the 1766 ground plan, the

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[87] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1
[88] Morel, 'The Saloon' in Morel (ed.) *Houghton Revisited*, p. 190
[89] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1
[90] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1. Current whereabouts unknown.

room was known as the 'Gallery' at this time, rather than specifically the 'Picture Gallery', suggesting the equal status of both media in the eyes of the collectors. During the eighteenth century, sculptural busts were often displayed in dedicated sculpture galleries, and less frequently dispersed through a house.[91] At Longford, they were interspersed with paintings within this room, and no separate sculpture gallery was ever created. This may have been due to a disinclination on the part of the family to turn one of the rooms of the castle over to the sole display of sculpture, as they did not own a large enough collection of it to justify doing so, or rather that they preferred the effect created by distributing sculptural works amongst paintings.

The inventory notes that the busts were displayed on terms of German marble, and that the marble portrayal of the 1st Earl as a child by Rysbrack (fig. 75) was located above the chimneypiece.[92] Baker has argued that displaying sculptural busts upon pedestals and above chimneypieces facilitated a greater degree of engagement between the viewer and the sitter.[93] Conversely, in the entrance hall at Coleshill, sculpted busts were arranged high up in roundels above the staircase,[94] distancing the image from the viewer. Baker has described the display of busts at Coleshill as a "traditional use of sculpture", still employed on occasion in the eighteenth century, as when John Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll (1678-1743) arranged busts at Adderbury House, Oxfordshire, "high up where they were not subjected to close scrutiny".[95] However, at Longford, the display strategy would have facilitated for the viewer a proxy three-dimensional encounter with the images of these individuals, and in particular, the 1st Viscount, who was responsible for establishing the art collection on show in the Gallery. It thereby would have assisted in reminding the viewer of the Bouverie family's status and identity as collectors.

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[91] Baker, *Marble Index*, p. 144. Sculpture galleries existed at Chiswick House, London; Holkham Hall; Petworth House, Sussex; Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire; and Chatsworth House, Derbyshire (G. Jackson-Stops with the assistance of F. Russell, 'The Sculpture Rotunda' in Jackson-Stops (ed.) *Treasure Houses of Britain*, p. 288).

[92] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1. The bust of the 1st Earl as a child is now set into the chimneypiece in the Study, an arrangement possibly designed by Anthony Salvin in the late nineteenth century (Penny with the assistance of Avery-Quash, *Guide to Longford Castle*, p. 18).

[93] Baker, *Marble Index*, p. 144

[94] See H. Avray-Tipping, 'Coleshill House. Berkshire. I' in *Country Life*, Vol. XLVI, 26th July 1919, p. 116.

[95] M. Baker, *Figured in Marble: The Making and Viewing of Eighteenth-Century Sculpture*, London: V&A Publications, 2000, p. 143

Although it was later removed to a different location within the castle, setting the marble bust of the 1st Earl into the chimneypiece in the Gallery achieved an effect of permanence, physically and symbolically rooting the image within the space. Similarly, at Corsham Court, a bust of Sir Paul Methuen (c.1672-1757) was displayed upon the chimneypiece in the Gallery, where it was surrounded by his art collection. At Coleshill, a bust by Roubiliac of Sir Mark Pleydell was at one point in the mid-eighteenth century "at a point that was the symbolic centre of the estate": set into a chimneypiece in the Saloon.[96] The Bouveries' manner of arranging sculptural busts, predicated upon a physical association of their image with the fabric of their country seat and their adjacent art collection, thus suggests that they were aware of and participated in an approach commonly followed by eighteenth-century art collectors.

Significantly, it appears that the works of art present in the Gallery in the eighteenth century, as detailed by all the handwritten inventories, stayed for a significant time in this location, some of them until the present day. For example, the list of "Pictures in the Gallery" within the 1814 catalogue shows the retention of the Claudes, Poussins and Holbeins amongst other works, alongside a number of additions made to the collection in the intervening years, such the *Venus disarming Cupid*, then attributed to Correggio. The room remained essentially free of family portraits, conforming to the trend recognised by scholars of keeping such works separate from the rest of a collection.[97] As discussed in Chapter 2, the 2nd Earl appears to have considered expanding the Gallery and undertaking innovative architectural works, such as introducing top lighting, in order to improve the conditions for viewing art. The conception of the space as a destination housing and showing off Longford's most prestigious, expensive and interesting works of art was clearly understood and upheld by successive generations.

[96] Baker, *Marble Index*, p. 140. This is very probably the sculpture displayed at Longford later in the eighteenth century, discussed earlier in the chapter: it may have been removed from Coleshill following Sir Mark's death in 1768.
[97] Jackson-Stops with the assistance of Russell, 'Augustan Taste', p. 322

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to reconstruct, as far as is possible, the way in which works of art were displayed in four key spaces at Longford during the eighteenth century. It can be concluded that the Bouveries adhered to a number of trends regarding the arrangement of art in the country house interior. For instance, they displayed a collection of portraits, both painted and sculptural, discretely and early on in the sequence of rooms, to foreground their aristocratic status and sense of dynasty. They hung prestigious and fashionable old masters which evoked their connoisseurship in a harmonious display against an appropriate decorative backdrop in the Gallery, and they congregated small-scale paintings into a smaller space adjacent to that Gallery in the manner of a cabinet room.

Much scholarship on the display of art collections in eighteenth-century country houses has focused upon the arrangement of works of art in Palladian buildings, which were often designed with the purpose of showcasing art collections, with picture plans produced early on and frames considered a primary part of a room's interior decoration.[98] For instance, the architect William Kent designed "fully integrated original interiors" for country houses.[99] At Houghton, he suggested the unification of the collection through the construction of "carved and gilded frames of his own elaborate design", and his plans for the picture hangs in the Saloon and Picture Gallery include the dimensions and subjects of the works of art.[100] The centrality of the art collection to the design and function of the building, and the way in which the arrangement of art at Houghton was informed by a total scheme is at odds with the more accretive process of interior renovation and acquisition and display of works of art that occurred at Longford Castle.[101]

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[98] C. Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000, pp. 215, 218

[99] J. Bryant, 'From "Gusto" to "Kentissime": Kent's Designs for Country Houses, Villas and Lodges' in S. Weber (ed.) *William Kent: Designing Georgian Britain*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013, p. 183. For example, see Kent's 'Design for the south wall of the Red Saloon, Houghton Hall, showing a proposed picture hang, 1725' in Weber (ed.) *William Kent*, cat. 55, p. 150.

[100] T. Morel, 'Houghton Revisited: An Introduction' in Morel (ed.) *Houghton Revisited*, pp. 38-40

[101] Houghton was built to house an already existent collection of paintings with which the architect was familiar (Morel, 'Houghton Revisited: An Introduction', p. 38).

Indeed, the situation at Longford supports Russell's argument that picture hangs could "rarely [be] devised with absolute precision" and were "[altered] as further acquisitions were made … a compromise between the space available and the scale of the collection in question."[102] As noted earlier in this thesis, the Bouveries successfully worked within the existing boundaries of the castle, negotiating its constraints alongside their desire to follow fashions in interior design and the arrangement of art. It is important to bear in mind that the display of art at Longford must have been conditioned by a multitude of factors: academic principles; fashionable trends; the constraints of the architectural spaces; and the owners' preferences and predilections based upon how they themselves wished to experience their carefully constructed art collection.

Longford also functioned as a family home, designed and filled to an extent to impress visitors, but perhaps ultimately created for the enjoyment of its owners.[103] Some Palladian homes, such as Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire, were designed to segregate the roles of home and art repository, with discrete wings separating living spaces from the main house, wherein the art collection was located. However, the two functions often more fully co-existed. In 1817, Colt Hoare said of the English: "we live in our best [apartments] … we like to be surrounded by the fine works of art which we may have the good fortune to possess",[104] and Laing has argued that owners enjoyed "the pleasure or prestige" of living alongside important works.[105] The display of art nevertheless shaped visitors' experiences of Longford, and the reputation of its art collection beyond its walls throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as the following chapter will explore.

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[102] Russell, 'Hanging and Display of Pictures', p. 133

[103] Cornforth has written of "the English liking for works of art in the rooms in which they lived rather than in galleries, as was more usual on the continent", reinforcing the need to consider these spaces primarily as living spaces (J. Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004, p. 67).

[104] Colt Hoare quoted in Laing, *In Trust for the Nation*, p. 117.

[105] Laing, *In Trust for the Nation*, p. 117

Chapter 7: Visiting

This thesis has shown that, during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Bouveries' art collection was carefully built up, documented and displayed, primarily at Longford Castle. Despite the existence of a series of inventories, discussed in Chapter 6, no guidebook devoted solely to Longford was published during the eighteenth century. However, the castle and its collection were known through regional guides, antiquarian volumes and prints. Although piecemeal, these sources served to increase the fame of the house and collection, and to draw visitors to it.

Visitors' accounts record experiences of Longford at the time of its refurbishment and the foundation of its art collection during the ownership of the 1st Viscount Folkestone, and during the 1st and 2nd Earls of Radnors' tenures. They therefore help to reconstruct a sense of the changing ways in which Longford was perceived by contemporaries, from the late seventeenth century through to the mid-nineteenth century. This broad date range allows an examination of the different responses of a variety of people, including genteel tourists, antiquarians and academics. The chapter explores Longford's position within the itineraries of travellers to the Wiltshire region, and investigates the practical aspects of a visit to the castle: for instance, whether visitors were guided by a housekeeper, or supplied with information about the collection. The chapter also investigates the way in which the Bouverie family negotiated the public and private functions of their home, and demonstrates how the castle and collection were consistently understood to be of a particularly high quality, and distinct character.[1]

[1] Coleshill House, Berkshire, is absent from the discussion, as it was not until after the death of Sir Mark Stuart Pleydell in 1768 that the Bouveries inherited Coleshill, so fewer recorded visits are available to illuminate our understanding of tourism at this house under Bouverie ownership. Similarly, little evidence on tourism at 52 Grosvenor Street, London, is available. However, on John Britton's response to Coleshill, see Chapter 2 and the Conclusion.

Public Perception of Longford

In comparison to, for instance, Wilton House, Wiltshire, Longford was not a constant fixture in publications on country houses,[2] nor was it included in all visitor accounts to the region at the time.[3] However, at the beginning of the period explored in this thesis, Longford was known to a wider audience through the existence of printed images. The drawings produced by Robert Thacker in the late seventeenth century, discussed in Chapter 2, were engraved and published around 1680 jointly by the printmakers Nicholas Yeates (fl.1669-1686) and James Collins (fl.1675-1717).[4] As it has been suggested that these might represent "the first engraved suite of views of a country house in Britain", along with a series by Henry Winstanley (1644-1703) depicting Audley End House, Essex,[5] these prints would have served to heighten a general awareness of Longford.

Moreover, the images themselves suggest a degree of openness to a wider community, as they depict various figures occupying the grounds surrounding the castle (figs. 120 and 121). Anne Laurence has noted that many topographical paintings of the period c.1660-1740 depict "people riding by on the road, approaching and leaving the house and passing traffic, showing how the world of the

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[2] For instance, Longford does not feature in P. Luckombe, *The Beauties of England: or, a comprehensive view of the antiquities of this kingdom; the seats of the nobility and gentry; … the chief villages, market towns, and cities; … intended as a travelling pocket companion*, London: printed for L. Davis and C. Reymers, 1764, nor T. H. Clarke, *The Domestic Architecture of the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and James the First, Illustrated by a Series of Views of English Mansions, with Brief Historical and Descriptive Accounts of Each Subject*, London: Priestley and Weale, 1833.

[3] Longford wasn't featured in John Wilkes's (1725-1797) travel diaries in a tour of Wiltshire from Bath in May 1778 (British Library Add MS 30866 Eight diaries of John Wilkes … 1770-1797). It doesn't appear in J. Byng, *The Torrington Diaries, containing the Tours throughout England and Wales of the Hon. John Byng (later Fifth Viscount Torrington) between the years 1781 and 1794*, ed. and introduced by C. Bruyn Andrews, and with a general introduction by J. Beresford, 4 Vols., London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1934; R. Warner, *Excursions from Bath L. P.*, Bath and London, 1801; nor R. Fenton, *A Tour in Quest of Genealogy through Several Parts of Wales, Somersetshire and Wiltshire*, Sherwood: Neely and Jones, 1811.

[4] N. Yeates with J. Collins, 'Two Plans and Nine Views of Longford House in Wiltshire, the Seat of Lord Colerane, by R. Thacker; engraved by Yates and Collins' in *Catalogue of Maps, Prints, Drawings, etc., forming the geographical and topographical collection attached to the Library of his late Majesty King George the third, etc*, London, 1829, British Library, Cartographic Items Maps K.Top.43.44.a-l

[5] J. Harris, *The Artist and the Country House: A History of Country House and Garden View Painting in Britain 1540-1870*, London: Sotheby Parke Bernet Publications, 1979, p. 89. Engravings focusing solely on the garden at Wilton had also been produced in c.1645 (see J. Harris, 'English Country House Guides, 1740-1840' in J. Summerson (ed.) *Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, London: Allen Lane, 1968, p. 60).

country house was not enclosed."[6] These views represent Longford as well integrated into the surrounding community, populated with a range of figures, including those promenading in a leisurely fashion, as well as individuals apparently wielding spades and wheelbarrows, engaged in manual labour.

The contemporaneous manuscript history written by Reverend Pelate also supports the idea that Longford was accessible to visitors in the late seventeenth century. The author's dedication to Henry Hare, 2nd Baron Coleraine, begins with this pronouncement:

> I perceive yor Honr is nott so jealous of [Longford] as to shutt her up from the salutes of stranger On ye other hand you are so nobly free as to let all honest personages have leave to see her when they desire itt, & they as frequently admire as visit her[7]

This passage suggests that Lord Coleraine's pride in Longford was manifested in a gracious sense of hospitality, and that Pelate deemed this an appropriate way in which to flatter his patron. These visual and textual descriptions suggest that Longford's owners wished to convey to the wider world an image of the castle and its grounds as receptive to visitors and the wider community, in line with the tradition of rural hospitality. The writer Daniel Defoe (1660-1731) was one early visitor to "*Langbro'* a fine seat of my Lord *Colerain*, which is very well kept".[8] These precedents may have set in train a culture of country house visiting that increased pressure upon the Bouveries to continue to open up the castle later in the eighteenth century.

However, these prints were not easily available by the end of the eighteenth century. In 1809, the antiquarian John Britton (1771-1857) recorded that the set of prints was

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[6] A. Laurence, 'Space, Status and Gender in English Topographical Paintings, c.1660-c.1740' in *Architectural History*, Vol. 46, 2003, p. 85

[7] Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre (hereafter WSHC) 1946/3/2C/1 History of buildings 1678, 1694

[8] D. Defoe, *A Tour Thro' The Whole Island of Great Britain Divided into Circuits or Journies Giving A Particular and Diverting Account of whatever is Curious and worth Observation. Particularly fitted for the Reading of such as desire to Travel over the Island*, 2 Vols., originally published 1724-26, new impression of new edition, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1968, Vol. I, p. 199

"very scarce."[9] Moreover, as noted above, the Bouveries did not publish a guidebook or catalogue to the collection in the eighteenth century.[10] A few key works of art were reproduced in engravings, however, helping to spread their fame, and acting as a draw for visitors. For example, Claude Lorrain's *Pastoral Landscape with the Arch of Titus* was engraved several times, including a version by William Woollet (1753-1785) published by John Boydell in 1772 (fig. 122).[11] The fame of the Claudes by the early nineteenth century was such that, in 1804, the 2nd Earl received a letter written on behalf of Princess Elizabeth (1770-1840), the third daughter of King George III, notifying him that she was "making a Collection of Fine prints, if you any of the Two Claude Lorrain that are in the Gallery at Longford Castle and the Nichola Poussins shall be obliged for One of Each of them".[12]

Mrs Caroline Lybbe Powys (1738-1817), visiting in 1776, wrote that "we went on purpose to see" the two paintings by Claude.[13] She was pleasantly surprised by the other works she encountered at Longford, noting that "we were quite pleased the Claude Lorraine had tempted us these three miles out of our first propos'd excursion."[14] This reveals that, were it not for the presence of these famous old masters, Longford would not have otherwise featured on her tour of the region. This is important, as it speaks of the otherwise relatively modest place which Longford occupied within tourists' itineraries. In 1794, Joseph Farington (1747-1821) recorded in his diary that Sir George Beaumont had likewise been "to Lord Radnors to see the Claudes."[15] The artist John Constable (1776-1837) followed suit, visiting Longford to

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[9] J. Britton, *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, represented and illustrated in a series of Views, Elevations, Plans, Sections, and Details of Various Ancient English Edifices with Historical and Descriptive Accounts of Each*, 9 Vols., London: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1809, Vol. II, p. 104

[10] The first catalogue of the Longford collection was published in Salisbury in 1853 (WSHC 1946/3/2A/5 Catalogues of paintings at Longford Castle 1849-1853). The earliest catalogue to a single country house art collection published in the eighteenth century was for Wilton (G. Waterfield, 'The Origins of the Early Picture Gallery Catalogue in Europe, and its Manifestation in Victorian Britain' in S. Pearce (ed.) *Art in Museums*, London: Athlone, 1995, p. 51; see also J. Stourton and C. Sebag-Montefiore, *The British as Art Collectors: From the Tudors to the Present*, London: Scala, 2012, pp. 323-325).

[11] On Boydell and the publication of prints after works by Claude, see T. Clayton, *The English Print 1688-1802*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997, pp. 170, 177-180, 209 and J. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997, p. 453.

[12] WSHC 1946/4/2B/20 Correspondence of Jacob, 2nd Earl of Radnor 1804-1812

[13] C. Lybbe Powys, *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys of Hardwick House, Oxon. A.D. 1756 to 1808*, ed. E. J. Climenson, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1899, p. 164

[14] Lybbe Powys, *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys*, p. 165

[15] J. Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, eds. K. Garlick and A. Macintyre, 17 Vols., New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978, Vol. I, p. 223

copy the Claudes in 1811 and 1821.[16] This indicates the widespread knowledge of certain paintings within the Longford art collection within artistic circles at this time, if not of the collection as a whole. It also suggests how Longford functioned pedagogically, in the tradition of an academy, informing the contemporary arts.[17]

In 1806, Peltro William Tomkins (1759-1840) and E. Forster (dates unknown) petitioned the 2nd Earl to allow them to engrave paintings from Longford. The correspondence of the former, a prolific engraver who was appointed historical engraver to Queen Charlotte in 1793,[18] implies a longstanding relationship with the 2nd Earl, and suggests that the latter was amenable to having prints made from works of art in his collection. Tomkins writes of an "endeavour to prove myself worthy of a continuance of that Patronage your Lordship has been pleased to confer on me".[19]

Sir Joshua Reynolds's 1757 portrait of the 2nd Earl as a child had been engraved (fig. 123), as well as Richard Cosway's portraits of Anne, Countess of Radnor (fig. 124) and the Honourable William Pleydell-Bouverie and Lady Mary Anne Pleydell-Bouverie as children. The latter was engraved in 1786 and simply entitled 'Infancy' (fig. 125). The 2nd Earl purchased the early impressions, noting in his accounts a payment for "24 Proof Impressions of the Print from Cosway's Picture of the Children".[20] Eighteenth-century child portraiture often invoked childhood as a "universal quality", with paintings representing not only the specific individual, but also a general state of being, or set of social values,[21] through an idealised aesthetic. Although the commission and the early prints acquired by the 2nd Earl have

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[16] T. Wilcox, *Constable and Salisbury: The Soul of Landscape*, London: Scala, 2011, p. 97. Constable made copies after works by old masters such as Jacob van Ruisdael and Titian (c.1485/90-1576) (M. Evans, 'Copying: 'A More Lasting Remembrance" in M. Evans with S. Calloway and S. Owens, *John Constable: The Making of a Master*, London: V&A Publishing, 2014, pp. 112-117) and of a Claude in Sir George Beaumont's collection (F. Owen and D. Blayney Brown, *Collector of Genius: A Life of Sir George Beaumont*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988, p. 151).

[17] Timothy Wilcox has argued that the *Pastoral Landscape with the Arch of Titus* at Longford "provid[ed] the underlying structure" for Constable's *View on the Stour near Dedham* of 1822 (Huntington Art Collections, California) (Wilcox, *Constable and Salisbury*, pp. 97, 100).

[18] National Portrait Gallery, 'Peltro William Tomkins', http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp15919/peltro-william-tomkins (accessed 29th June 2015)

[19] WSHC 1946/4/2B/20

[20] WSHC 1946/3/1B/3 Account book [of personal expenditure of the 1st and 2nd Earls of Radnor] 1768-1795

[21] M. Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1993, pp. 178-180

functioned primarily as representations of the individual children, the anonymised print version translated the portrait into a 'fancy picture', subsuming the sitters' identities for consumption by a wider market.

Longford Castle itself also appeared in print during the eighteenth century, and was included in the fifth volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, a book imitative of Colen Campbell's (1676-1729) original, and published in 1771 by the architects John Woolfe (d.1793) and James Gandon (1742/3-1823).[22] This volume continued the tradition of representing country houses as architectural exemplars, detached from their surroundings, within a comprehensive survey of British buildings.[23] The engravings of Longford in *Vitruvius Britannicus* include the ground plans of the first and second floors, and elevations of the south and garden fronts of the castle (figs. 12, 13, 126 and 127), differing significantly from the peopled scenes produced by Thacker almost a century earlier.

An engraving of Longford also appeared in the 1787 volume *The Seats of the Nobility and Gentry in Great Britain and Wales in a Collection of Select Views*, a continuation of William Watts's (1752-1851) endeavour of the same name.[24] It depicts Longford and its fashionably landscaped surroundings from a point beyond the River Avon, upon which two people are shown being rowed in a small boat in a leisurely manner (fig. 128). This idealised portrayal is one of a number of country house views portraying pleasure boats, and such images, showing "fine houses in well-kept parks", functioned to demonstrate the owner's taste and hospitality, and suggest the polite behaviours visitors might adopt.[25] Finally, Longford was also included in Britton's 1809 publication *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, alongside a range of other older country houses such as Audley End House, Longleat House, Wiltshire, and

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[22] J. Woolfe and J. Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus, or the British Architect; containing Plans, Elevations and Sections; of the Regular Buildings both Public and Private in Great Britain, comprised in one hundred folio plates, engrav'd by the best hands; taken from the buildings, or original designs*, 5 Vols., 1771, Vol. V. On the difference between Campbell's publications and his imitators', see T. P. Connor, 'The Making of 'Vitruvius Britannicus" in *Architectural History*, Vol. 20, 1997, p. 14.

[23] D. Arnold, 'The Country House and its Publics' in D. Arnold (ed.) *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society*, Stroud: Sutton, 1998, pp. 36-39

[24] See T. Clayton, 'Publishing Houses: Prints of Country Seats' in Arnold (ed.) *Georgian Country House*, p. 56

[25] Clayton, 'Publishing Houses', pp. 58-59

Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk.[26] The accompanying account of the history of the castle characterises it as a subject of antiquarian interest.

This range of examples shows how Longford was presented to a variety of different audiences via print culture – general travellers, connoisseurs, architects, and antiquarians. Longford's presence in print may have encouraged a range of visitors to journey to the castle,[27] but for a "public at one remove",[28] it may also have stood in for a real-life visit. Dana Arnold has argued that "allowing taste to be seen – or putting it on display – both endorsed the cultural superiority of the nobility and reinforced their position among their peers",[29] demonstrating the importance of showcasing one's property and possessions in articulating social status. That the Bouveries agreed to have images of the castle and collection engraved and published during our period indicates that they were not averse to increasing the awareness of Longford inaugurated by the late seventeenth-century engravings. However, their reticence to publish a dedicated catalogue to the collection, and the fact that the castle was not a constant fixture within tourists' itineraries, does suggest that they were also concerned with the retention of their privacy, and with Longford's function as a home.

Visitors

Prolific travellers such as Celia Fiennes (1662-1741), Defoe, Richard Pococke (1704-1765), Jonas Hanway (1712-1786), Lybbe Powys, Sir Richard Joseph Sullivan (1752-1806), and Britton all visited Longford between the late seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries, and recorded their impressions. These were intended for a variety of audiences. Defoe and Britton's accounts were consciously written for the print market, but Lybbe Powys's notes were written in private journals and letters,

[26] Britton also wrote to the 2nd Earl about his topographical works (WSHC 1946/4/2B/6 Correspondence 1774-1830).
[27] Tinniswood has argued that topographical views, like published accounts of tours, served to whet the appetites of potential tourists (A. Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting: Five Centuries of Tourism and Taste*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell in association with the National Trust, 1989, p. 88).
[28] Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, p. 459
[29] Arnold, 'Country House and its Publics', p. 22

not published until 1899.[30] Lybbe Powys, who travelled extensively around England, staying with friends and family, recording her experiences of the architecture, interiors and way of life at country houses,[31] is a particularly important commentator upon Longford, and will be drawn on substantially in the following discussion.

All these travellers participated in the expanding culture of country house tourism, driven by a number of factors. First, the building boom meant that there were more houses to visit,[32] and the codes of polite society advocated that they should be open to the right type of visitor.[33] Second, travel no longer entailed the same degree of discomfort and trouble[34] as had been the case previously, with improvements in carriage design and the turnpike road system smoothing the way.[35] It is notable that many tourists visited Longford following the establishment of the turnpike system in south Wiltshire in 1753.[36]

A number of foreign visitors, including the Germans Samuel Heinrich Spiker (1786-1858), Johann David Passavant (1787-1861), and Gustav Waagen (1794-1868), came to Longford in the early- to mid-nineteenth century, a period that has been described as "the first great age of country-house visiting" by Peter Mandler.[37] These later visitors were serious and pioneering academics, with a particular interest in seeing British collections of fine art, at an important moment for the emerging discipline of Art History.

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[30] S. Powys Marks, 'The Journals of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys (1738-1817) A Half Century of Visits to Bath' in *Bath History*, Vol. IX, 2002, pp. 28, 30-31, 61, https://www.bathspa.ac.uk/Media/CHC%20Images/Vol%2009%20-%2002.%20Marks%20-%20The%20Journals%20of%20Mrs%20Philip%20Lybbe%20Powys%20(1738-1817),%20A%20Half%20Century%20of%20Visits%20to%20Bath.pdf (accessed 25th June 2015)
[31] Powys Marks, 'Journals of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys', pp. 28-30
[32] Tinniswood, *History of Country House Visiting*, p. 66
[33] See P. Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997, p. 9.
[34] E. Moir, *The Discovery of Britain: The English Tourists 1540-1840*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964, p. xiii. On the late seventeenth-century transport system, see W. Albert, *The Turnpike Road System in England 1663-1840*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972, pp. 6-13.
[35] See M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978, pp. 190, 218 and I. Ousby, *The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 10.
[36] See E. Crittal (ed.) 'Roads' in *A History of the County of Wiltshire*, 17 Vols., London: Victoria County History, 1959, Vol. IV, pp. 254-271, *British History Online*, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol4/pp254-271 (accessed 1st August 2016).
[37] Mandler, *Fall and Rise*, p. 4

In addition, tourists whose travels were not so extensive, and who did not record or publish their impressions, may also have undertaken visits to Longford. It is likely that the castle would have received a number of aristocratic visitors, as travel to other country houses constituted an important activity for the elites of the eighteenth century.[38] Although the Longford archive contains little evidence of their visits, aside from one made by the Prince of Wales in 1785,[39] it is known that the Bouveries visited other country houses themselves, and thus were likely to have reciprocated this hospitality.

In 1753, for example, the 1st Viscount conducted a tour of Norfolk, recording in his account book "Expences on the Norfolk Expedition".[40] It has been suggested that a tour of this county, encompassing visits to Houghton Hall, Holkham Hall, Blickling Hall, Felbrigg Hall and Raynham Hall, had, by the 1770s, become "almost as obligatory as the Grand Tour itself".[41] It is likely that the excursion encompassed a visit to Houghton, as the 1st Viscount had purchased the *Aedes Walpolianae*, a catalogue of its collection of pictures,[42] and "two books about Ld. Orford's house" the previous year,[43] possibly in preparation for the visit. Expenses for multiple visits to Wilton occur in the Longford accounts from the 1780s to the 1820s, and for visits to Wardour Castle, Fonthill Abbey, Longleat House, and Corsham Court, all in Wiltshire; and Audley End; Highclere Castle, Berkshire; and Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, amongst other country house locations.[44] The 2nd Earl and his wife also visited Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire, receiving a note from the Duchess of

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[38] J. V. Beckett, 'Country House Life' in *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 45, No. 1, March 2002, p. 237
[39] Later King George IV. See WSHC 1946/3/2D/1 Royal visit [of the Prince of Wales to Longford Castle] 1785.
[40] WSHC 1946/3/1B/2 House book [of household and personal expenses of Sir Jacob Bouverie and William, 1st Earl of Radnor] 1745-1768
[41] G. Jackson-Stops with the assistance of F. Russell, 'Temples of the Arts' in G. Jackson-Stops (ed.) *The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting*, Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985, p. 15
[42] On this, see Stourton and Sebag-Montefiore, *British as Art Collectors*, p. 325.
[43] WSHC 1946/3/1B/2
[44] WSHC 1946/3/1B/3 and WHSC 1946/3/1B/4 Account book [of personal expenditure of Jacob, 2nd Earl of Radnor] 1797-1828. See also letters from the Honourable Frederick Pleydell-Bouverie to the 2nd Earl about his tour of Scotland, which included a visit to a castle, whose housekeeper, it transpired, had visited Longford (WSHC 1946/4/2B/21 Correspondence 1804-1812); an account of a coach trip by Jacob Pleydell-Bouverie, later 4th Earl of Radnor (1815-1889), with his father and brother in 1827 to places including Wardour Castle, Longleat and Lydiard House in Wiltshire (WSHC 1946/4/2C/17 Account of coach trip 1827); and an account of a 1794 tour from London to Edinburgh via Burghley House, Lincolnshire; Hagley Hall, Worcestershire; and past other "Gentlemen's seats" (Berkshire Record Office D/EPb/F27 Diary of a tour from London to Edinburgh and back to Longford Castle … 1794).

Bedford who presented "her Compts to Lord & Lady Radnor & is most happy to have it in her power to oblige them, by allowing them (contrary to the usual custom) to see the Abbey today at any hour Most agreeable to Lord & Lady Radnor".[45] This indicates the special access to country houses which could be granted to one's peers.

Regionalism

The specific emphases of the publications in which Longford was included presumably influenced the ways in which visitors experienced it: as an architectural curiosity, or more as the repository for an important collection of art. Some printed material grouped Longford with its neighbours in the county of Wiltshire, and may have reflected or reinforced a general trend which is discernible in many travellers' accounts of Longford: that of its place upon a regional tour.

Adrian Tinniswood has noted that the end of the eighteenth century saw the publication of a number of guidebooks devoted to individual country houses,[46] but these existed alongside a corpus of regional volumes, which featured a variety of local points of interest including country houses, cathedrals and antiquarian sites. Longford was included within the comprehensive publication, *The Salisbury Guide*, first published in 1769. The nineteenth edition of this book, studied here, was published in 1797 in Salisbury, but it was also sold in the capital,[47] indicating that its intended market comprised both locals, and those considering visiting from further afield.

This guide makes mention of Longford, and also explicates the Bouverie family's role within the local community, noting, for example, the 2nd Earl's gift of a stained

[45] WSHC 1946/4/2B/20. The note is undated, so it is uncertain who the Duchess of Bedford was at the time.
[46] Tinniswood, *History of Country House Visiting*, p. 94. On the evolution of the guidebook, see Ousby, *Englishman's England*, p. 12.
[47] *The Salisbury Guide, giving an Account of the Antiquities of Old Sarum, and of the Subterranean Passage lately discovered there: the Ancient and Present State of New Sarum, or Salisbury, with a Copious Description of the Council-House, and a Correct List of the Corporation: the Cathedral, Stonehenge, and Seats of the Nobility and Gentry: the coming in and going out of the Post, Coaches, Waggons, and Carriers: with the Distances of the principal Towns and Villages on the High Roads from Salisbury*, nineteenth edition, Salisbury: printed and sold by J. Easton; sold also by G. and T. Wilike, No. 57, Paternoster-Row, London, 1797

glass window to Salisbury Cathedral.[48] The sixth section of the guide includes "a sketch of [the Traveller's] route to the principal places in the neighbourhood, as may enable him the better to regulate his excursions",[49] and this account includes descriptions of Wilton, Stonehenge, Amesbury, Wardour, Fonthill, Stourhead, Longleat, Longford, Tottenham Park and Clarendon Palace, together with practical information, such as distances from the city, to facilitate this tour. This account indicates what contemporaries considered to be the 'principal' places to visit within the vicinity of Salisbury, and suggests that they were understood as best experienced in conjunction.

Similarly, an auction sale catalogue printed by Jeffrey's Gallery in Salisbury in 1809 reinforces our sense of such visiting patterns. The catalogue prefixes a list of the works of art on sale with a laudatory account of the antiquarian and artistic highlights of the surrounding area, including Longford. This runs to one and a half pages in length, and would have publicised these sites to a readership interested in the arts.[50] This auctioneer's puff was most likely intended to increase traffic to the area and the sale, but also encouraged visitors to think of the houses and collections in the locale. It also provided practical information, such as the distance and direction of Longford from Salisbury, to facilitate a visit there.[51]

Certainly, not all tourists trod precisely the same route, or experienced all the suggested sites, but it is notable that many travellers' accounts attest to the fact that visits to Longford were made alongside excursions to other nearby attractions. A particular copy of an eighteenth-century guide to Wilton, in the collection of the British Library,[52] is invaluable here. It is of unknown provenance, but it contains several pages of anonymous handwritten notes bound into the back. These notes, apparently first made in pencil and then written over in ink, concern the art collections of other nearby country houses, including Longleat, Longford, and Fonthill (figs. 129 and 130), and were thus presumably written by someone

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[48] *Salisbury Guide*, p. 43
[49] *Salisbury Guide*, p. 64
[50] WSHC 1946/3/4A/4 Auction catalogues … 1809
[51] WSHC 1946/3/4A/4
[52] J. Kennedy, *A New Description of the Pictures, Statues, Bustos, Basso-Relievos, and Other Curiosities in the Earl of Pembroke's House at Wilton*, sixth edition, 1774, with manuscript annotations, 787.e.30, British Library. With thanks to Jocelyn Anderson for bringing this to my attention.

undertaking a tour of the region.[53] The co-existence of notes relating to these various houses indicates that the unknown author visited them one after the other. This demonstrates how counties provided geographical and conceptual frameworks in which tours were conducted, and art collections considered and compared.

This proposition is supported by the fact that, in 1740, the antiquarian George Vertue (1684-1756) visited the house and park at Clarendon, then "afterwards went to Longford house".[54] Similarly, in 1754, Pococke visited Wilton and Stonehenge after touring Longford.[55] Hanway and an anonymous visitor writing in *The Beauties of England Displayed*, published in 1762, also visited Wilton, as well as Longford.[56] Lybbe Powys, after visiting Longford, "return'd back thro' Salisbury, and so to the inn at Wilton … as we could not resist seeing Lord Pembroke's, tho' we all had often been there before".[57] Her visit to Longford formed part of a tour that also encompassed trips to Fonthill, Stourhead, and Stonehenge.[58]

The presence of other attractions in close proximity to Longford, and the fact that they were presented together in print as part of a regional circuit, may have given travellers reason to visit the castle. Wilton, whose art collection was very well known through frequently reprinted catalogues, acted as an initial draw to the area for visitors, and had itself benefited from the presence of a ready audience drawn to the locale by Stonehenge.[59] Harris has noted that a guidebook was produced for Wardour Castle in an attempt "to catch the overflow of visitors" from Fonthill

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[53] Annotating a guidebook was not uncommon practice (J. Anderson, 'Remaking the Country House: Country House Guidebooks in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', unpublished PhD thesis, The Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2013, p. 98).
[54] G. Vertue, 'The Note Books of George Vertue Relating to Artists and Collections in England' in *The Walpole Society*, Vol. V, Oxford: Walpole Society, 1938, p. 127
[55] R. Pococke, *The Travels through England of Dr. Richard Pococke*, ed. J. J. Cartwright, 2 Vols., London: Camden Society, 1889, Vol. II, p. 57
[56] J. Hanway, *A Journal of Eight Days Journey from Portsmouth to Kingston upon Thames … in a series of sixty-four letters: addressed to two ladies of the partie. To which is added, An essay on tea* … London: H. Woodfall, 1756, pp. 40-45 and Anonymous, *The Beauties of England Displayed, in a Tour through the Following Counties … Exhibiting A View of whatever is curious, remarkable, or entertaining*, London, 1762, p. 40
[57] Lybbe Powys, *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys*, p. 165
[58] Lybbe Powys, *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys*, pp. 163-175. On Powys's background and travels, see Powys Marks, 'Journals of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys', pp. 28-63 and F. Gowrley, 'Domestic Tourism, the Country House, and the Making of Respectability in the Travel Journals of Caroline Lybbe Powys', paper at *Travel and the Country House* conference, University of Northampton, 16th September 2014.
[59] Ousby, *Englishman's England*, p. 69

Abbey, when the latter was opened preceding its sale,[60] demonstrating how properties could benefit from the crowds attracted by their neighbours. Wiltshire's proximity to the fashionable Georgian resort of Bath also would have encouraged travellers to visit the region's country houses, most likely on their way between Bath and London. Esther Moir has noted how "sightseeing of the country houses in the district was a regular feature of visits to spas",[61] and Sir George Beaumont, for example, had been at Bath before he went to Longford.[62]

Access and Reception

The reception of visitors and their passage through the country house was often carefully organised in the eighteenth century, but the level of control varied from house to house. For instance, the parks and gardens at Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire, were always accessible, but entrance to the palace was subject to specific opening times.[63] Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, was open two days a week; Woburn was open on Mondays;[64] and Wanstead House, Essex, on Saturdays.[65] These houses' roles as homes must not be forgotten in all of this, as owners had to reconcile a tension between the imperative to open up their house with a desire for privacy. Judith S. Lewis has noted that, "implicit in the word 'home' are notions of family, self, privacy, and autonomy".[66] Moir has reminded us that a gracious welcome for tourists was by no means universal,[67] perhaps thanks to the new concepts of privacy and propriety that governed eighteenth-century polite society.[68]

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[60] Harris, 'English Country House Guides', p. 68
[61] E. Moir, 'Touring Country Houses in the 18th Century' in *Country Life*, 22nd October 1959, Vol. 126, p. 586
[62] Farington, *Diary of Joseph Farington*, Vol. I, p. 223
[63] Harris, 'English Country House Guides', p. 62
[64] Moir, 'Touring Country Houses', p. 586
[65] Harris, 'English Country House Guides', p. 62
[66] J. S. Lewis, 'When a House is not a Home: Elite English Women and the Eighteenth-Century Country House' in *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 2, April 2009, p. 340
[67] Moir, *Discovery of Britain*, p. 59
[68] On the relationship between notions of privacy and politeness, see Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, pp. 11, 143. On the development of privacy in the structure of the home, see J. E. Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities & Design in Early Modern Britain & Early America*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001, pp. 1-78.

At Longford, the mechanisms of accommodating tourists appear to have differed in the time of various owners. Hanway wrote in his account of Longford: "I think we were at no place treated with more politeness than here, and we must not forget the obliging manner in which you was invited to drink chocolate by the house-keeper."[69] During the eighteenth century, the Bouverie family may have been conscious of the legacy of feudal hospitality; a hang-over from medieval times, when country houses provided space for a multitude of guests of different social stations to eat and sleep.[70] Paul Langford has argued that, in the face of concerns regarding local absenteeism on the part of landowners, feared to be reneging upon their duties at a time of agricultural and social change, "the readiness of country house owners to permit public viewing when they were not in residence and even, on fixed days, when they were, was part of polite proprietorship."[71]

The Bouveries may also have been motivated to open Longford up to interested visitors due to their commitment to the improvement of the arts in Britain. John Cornforth noted that the 1st Viscount followed Thomas Martyn's (1735-1825) wish that "'the nobility and gentry would condescend to make their cabinets and collections [accessible to the curious] … the polite arts are rising in Britain, and call for the fostering hand of the rich and the powerful'", as this corresponded with the 1st Viscount's involvement in the Society of Arts.[72] The philosopher Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746) justified the acquisition of "fine possessions" on the basis that they were shared, and, despite contemporary concerns with luxury, it was believed that, by purchasing art and making it public, wealth could be put to good use.[73] The Bouveries may have felt that it was necessary to make their art collection publicly accessible, to further demonstrate their commitment to the public good, rather than private interest.

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[69] Hanway, *Journal of Eight Days Journey*, p. 48
[70] Crowley, *Invention of Comfort*, pp. 10-16
[71] P. Langford, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman 1689-1798*, Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1991, pp. 367, 549
[72] Martyn quoted in J. Cornforth, 'Longford and the Bouveries' in *Country Life Annual*, 1968, p. 37.
[73] D. Solkin, *Painting for Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England*, New Haven and London: published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1993, pp. 82-84 and I. Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England 1680-1768*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988, p. 174

In contrast with Hanway's experience, however, a century later, even such an eminent visitor such as the Director of the Royal Gallery at Berlin was treated almost disdainfully when he first attempted to gain admission to the castle. Waagen wrote:

> I had in vain requested Lord Radnor, through Mr. Rogers, for an order to his people to allow me to study his pictures at my leisure. Accordingly, when I requested the steward to admit me, I was flatly refused. Fortunately, Mr. Pusey, M.P. … had given me a letter to Lady Radnor … I was hastily driven through the collection[74]

This cold reception impacted upon Waagen's subsequent account of the collection, as he could not take comprehensive notes.[75] For instance, he had been unable to ascertain the date of Hans Holbein the Younger's painting *The Ambassadors* (fig. 70), noting afterwards: "it is … no wonder that it escaped me, chased as I was through the rooms."[76] Similarly, Waagen visited Woburn "under very unfavourable circumstances", and was obliged to revisit, whereupon he was then "allowed to inspect the collection at perfect leisure".[77] That such an important visitor, engaged in the task of writing up an account of the country's art collections, was not given the time and space to study the collection closely suggests that the 3rd Earl of Radnor, Longford's owner at the time, was not particularly interested in admitting guests, nor especially concerned with the write-up which the collection would be given in the resultant publication.[78]

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[74] G. F. Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists in England*, 3 Vols., London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1838, facsimile reprint published by Cornmarket Press, London, 1970, Vol. III, p. 52. This experience contrasts with Waagen's reception at Wilton, which comprised a tour of the collection's highlights and the freedom to study works of art at his own leisure (see Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists*, Vol. III, p. 61).

[75] Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists*, Vol. III, p. 52

[76] Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists*, Vol. III, p. 54

[77] G. F. Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain: Being an Account of More than Forty Collections of Paintings, Drawings, Sculptures, Mss., &c. &c. Visited in 1854 and 1856, and now for the first time described*, A Supplemental Volume to the Treasures of Art in Great Britain, 3 Vols., London: Albemarle Street, 1857, facsimile reprint published by Cornmarket Press, London, 1970, Vol. III, p. 331

[78] Although a protracted study of the art-related activities of the 3rd Earl is outside the bounds of this thesis, this episode is important as it highlights the differences in reception that appear to have been the result of a change in ownership at Longford. The 3rd Earl, as we have seen, preferred to reside at Coleshill, and appears to have had a conflicted attitude to his artistic inheritance at Longford. For instance, he did grant access to the collection to the antiquarian Dawson Turner (1775-1858) in the 1830s (WSHC 1946/3/2A/11 Correspondence and research notes for the Countess of Radnor's catalogue 1839-1907).

Waagen, unperturbed, returned to Longford in the 1850s, accompanied by his "kind friend Mr. Danby Seymour" (1820-1877), a Liberal politician and art collector. It was to Seymour that he "owed a most polite reception of the part of Lord Folkestone, eldest son of the Earl of Radnor, who allowed me to inspect the pictures in undisturbed freedom and comfort."[79] This suggests that the introduction provided by a trusted intermediary enabled uninterrupted admission to the castle, and that Lord Folkestone (Jacob Pleydell-Bouverie, later the 4th Earl of Radnor [1815-1899]) was keener than his father to encourage such access. This proposal is corroborated by the fact that the catalogue published to the Longford collection in 1853 was dedicated to him,[80] rather than his father, who was incumbent at Longford at the time.

Practicalities

According to Iain Pears, if an owner acted as "a repository of knowledge, guiding the public to an appropriate appreciation", then the glory associated with the ownership of the art collection would be increased.[81] It appears from visitor accounts that tourists were provided with information on their visits to Longford, sometimes by a housekeeper, as was the case for Spiker in 1816.[82] Servants and housekeepers would often escort tourists around country houses, although Moir has argued that this arrangement was sometimes less than ideal from a visitor's perspective, if the guide was badly informed.[83] Ian Ousby has also noted that housekeepers, as well as the gardeners who often conducted tours of the grounds, would expect to receive tips,[84] which visitors may have objected to. In some houses, however, tourists were given freedom to inspect the rooms at their own pace, with no contribution or interruption from staff.[85]

[79] Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art*, Vol. III, p. 353
[80] WSHC 1946/3/2A/2 Catalogues of paintings at Longford Castle 1828-1849
[81] Pears, *Discovery of Painting*, pp. 175-176
[82] S. H. Spiker, *Travels through England, Wales and Scotland in the Year 1816*, 2 Vols., 1820, Vol. II, p. 168
[83] Moir, *Discovery of Britain*, p. 60
[84] Ousby, *Englishman's England*, pp. 77-78
[85] Moir, *Discovery of Britain*, p. 60

Apart from Spiker's, other accounts of tours of Longford do not explicitly mention the presence of a housekeeper, but rather refer to the provision of information from an unidentified source. For example, Pococke notes; "as I was informed, [the house] was bought about 30 or 40 years ago of Lord Colerain."[86] It is uncertain who 'informed' him – and whether it happened before, during, or even after the visit – but this information, and perhaps also other facts recounted by visitors in their descriptions, may have been provided by a housekeeper. Lybbe Powys, meanwhile, notes, "there is a catalogue to every room",[87] but gives little further detail on this source, such as its contents, format, or from where she obtained it.

An insight into the provision of information at Longford, however, can be gained from the aforementioned anonymous handwritten notes in the catalogue to Wilton. The notes suggest that the unknown visitor may have had access to one of the undated eighteenth-century inventories of the Longford collection, introduced in Chapter 6. The route taken in both documents is not quite the same, but the accounts do suggest a general pattern which accords with the circuits made by other visitors, wherein the climax of the tour was the Picture Gallery, followed by the Green Velvet Drawing Room, Green Bedchamber and the Tapestry Room. Moreover, some of the annotations directly recall some of the descriptions and facts detailed within a particular Longford inventory,[88] suggesting that the visitor may have been loaned this document for the duration of their visit.

For example, in the Gallery, this visitor describes one of the Claudes in hasty shorthand, which precisely echoes the description in the inventory. They write; "the Roman empire, emblematical morning sun rising in bay of Naples with Eneas landing, temple of the Sybil, most beautiful Claude caprea appears the horizon".[89] In the inventory, the painting is referred to as: "The Sun Rising on the Bay of Naples, with a Representation of Aneas's … landing … on the Right Side is introduced the temple of the Sybills, and at a distance is seen the Island of Capirea", with a further note mentioning "Landing, the emblematical Morning of the Roman Empire … The

[86] Pococke, *Travels through England*, Vol. II, p. 57
[87] Lybbe Powys, *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys*, p. 165
[88] This is not the inventory discussed in depth in Chapter 6, but another version containing a number of crossings-out.
[89] Kennedy, *New Description*, manuscript annotations

Island of Caprea appears in the Horizon."[90] The similarity of these two descriptions suggests that the visitor may have been quoting from this inventory. Indeed, a housekeeper or guide may have read aloud from or paraphrased the inventory, whilst the visitor jotted down key phrases.

The similarities continue. The visitor remarks that a painting of the *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian* was "designed by M. A. Buonarati & coloured by Piombo united to rival Raphael",[91] whilst the inventory notes: "In this Piece designed by Michael Angelo Buonarotti, & coloured by Sebastian the two artists united their respective Excellencies in Rivalship of Raphael Urbino."[92] Reminiscent of the disjointed and abbreviated nature of notes taken during a lecture, the visitor's jottings follow the same sentence structure as in the inventory, and use the same key terms: 'designed', 'coloured', 'united', 'rival'.[93] The same exercise can be undertaken for the two descriptions of Holbein's *Erasmus*.[94]

Jocelyn Anderson has cautioned against over-reliance upon guidebooks as source material for understanding patterns of visiting, as tourists may have deviated from prescribed routes,[95] but these hasty jottings give a tangible insight into an actual visit; an unrevised and unedited account, not published nor apparently written with an audience in mind. Although the provision of information at Longford was clearly less formalised than at other country houses, with no official catalogue, it appears, from this evidence, that an effort was still made to furnish visitors with information relating to the house and collection through the consultation of inventories.

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[90] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1 Early catalogues of paintings at Longford 1748-1828
[91] Kennedy, *New Description*, manuscript annotations
[92] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1
[93] On the vocabularies used to describe paintings, and the development of a 'critical idiom', see M. Barnett, 'The Contemporary Response to British Art before Ruskin's *Modern Painters*: An Examination of Exhibition Reviews Published in the British Periodical Press and the Journalist Art Critics who penned them, from the late Eighteenth Century to 1843', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 1993, pp. 209-245.
[94] WSHC 1946/3/2A/1 and Kennedy, *New Description*, manuscript annotations
[95] Anderson, 'Remaking the Country House', p. 49

Architecture and Antiquarianism

It is clear from visitors' first impressions that Longford was seen as an architectural idiosyncrasy in the eighteenth century. Vertue called it "Sr. Jacob Bouverys triangular built house",[96] supplementing his account with a sketch of the layout showing two of the round tower rooms. Pococke, meanwhile, described Longford as a "triangular house, with a round tower joyning to each corner",[97] whilst Hanway noted; "the house is remarkable for being built in a triangular form".[98] Many visitors used the word 'singular' in relation to the architecture.[99] This attitude was reflected and reinforced within guidebooks of the day, such as the *Salisbury Guide*, and Britton's *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*: the latter describing Longford as "one of the most singular, and whimsical buildings of a capricious age."[100]

Longford's distinctive character seems largely to have appealed to visitors, and to have overridden any concern that the building was outdated or unfashionable. Significantly, it has been observed that, in the eighteenth century, neoclassical and Palladian architecture was the most highly praised, and that visitors could consider themselves country house 'connoisseurs' when they had visited, amongst others, Blenheim, Wilton, Houghton and Holkham.[101] Tinniswood has suggested that Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire, was seen as the prime manifestation of eighteenth-century taste.[102] Within this climate, Moir proposed that "any medieval building aroused little or no enthusiasm, and there was small appreciation of either

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96 Vertue, 'Note Books of George Vertue', p. 127
97 Pococke, *Travels through England*, Vol. II, p. 57
98 Hanway, *Journal of Eight Days Journey*, p. 47. Many visitors remarked upon the triangular structure (see J. Harris, 'The Duchess of Beaufort's *Observations on Places*' in *The Georgian Group Journal*, Vol. X, 2000, p. 39; Lybbe Powys, *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys*, p. 164; W. Gilpin, *Observations on the Western Parts of England, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty*, London: T. Cadwell and W. Davies, 1798, p. 72; J. Britton, *The Beauties of England and Wales; or Original Delineations, Topographical, Historical, and Descriptive, of Each County, Embellished with Engravings*, 18 Vols., London, 1814, Vol. XV, p. 388; and Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists*, Vol. III, p. 52).
99 See Lybbe Powys, *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys*, p. 165; Gilpin, *Observations on the Western Parts of England*, p. 72; W. Angus, *The Seats of the Nobility and Gentry in Great Britain and Wales, in a collection of select views engraved by W. Angus from pictures and drawings by the most eminent artists with descriptions of each view*, London: W. Angus, Gwynne's Buildings, Islington, 1787, unpaginated; Britton, *Beauties of England and Wales*, Vol. XV, p. 388; and Britton, *Architectural Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 103.
100 Britton, *Architectural Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 103
101 Moir, *Discovery of Britain*, p. 63
102 Tinniswood, *History of Country House Visiting*, p. 108

Elizabethan or Jacobean",[103] whilst Ousby argued that "the vigorous motley" of the architecture of Renaissance houses "could look merely disordered" to eighteenth-century travellers.[104]

Longford's distinct architectural footprint appears to have been an exception. Moreover, accounts of the castle capitalised upon its historical associations, and its links with Queen Elizabeth I were of particular interest to contemporaries. Britton relayed to his reader the relationship between Helen Snakenberg, Lady Gorges and the Queen, and the fact that "it is traditionally said that the Queen occasionally resided here … one apartment is still called the *Queen's Bed-chamber.*"[105] The *Salisbury Guide* expounded Longford's role as "occasionally Queen Elizabeth's residence",[106] and comments can also be found in these two publications regarding the castle's function as a garrison for King Charles I during the Civil War, and its surrender to Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658).[107] Accounts also focus upon unusual aspects of Longford's history, such as the fact it once was accessible only by moat, and that it had featured in Sir Philip Sidney's (1554-1586) *Arcadia.*[108] Ousby has noted that royal and historical links could help to draw visitors to castles,[109] whilst Anderson has observed that, if a country house "had fulfilled a rare or unique role", then housekeepers or other staff would often relay the fact during a tour.[110]

Eighteenth-century historians such as David Hume and William Robertson (1721-1793), writing histories of England and Scotland respectively, together with Samuel Johnson (1709-1784), had made Queen Elizabeth's reign the subject of contemporary discussion.[111] Even when nothing was left of a house, such as Ampthill Castle, Bedfordshire, historical connections could prove an ongoing point of interest. For example, Horace Walpole remarked in his correspondence that

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[103] Moir, *Discovery of Britain*, p. 63
[104] Ousby, *Englishman's England*, p. 68
[105] Britton, *Architectural Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 104
[106] *Salisbury Guide*, p. 83
[107] Britton, *Architectural Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 104 and *Salisbury Guide*, p. 83
[108] Britton, *Architectural Antiquities*, Vol. II, pp. 103-104 and *Salisbury Guide*, p. 82
[109] Ousby, *Englishman's England*, pp. 66
[110] Anderson, 'Remaking the Country House', p. 210
[111] See A. L. Rowse, 'Queen Elizabeth and the Historians' in *History Today*, Vol. 3, No. 9, September 1953, pp. 632-634.

Catherine of Aragon (1485-1536) had once lived at Ampthill;[112] although this was perhaps of more interest to Walpole as an antiquarian, than it would have been to a more general visitor. Yet, guidebooks to Burghley House emphasised the family's links with Queen Elizabeth at the time of the defeat of the Spanish Armada, as the eighteenth century looked on this historical event favourably.[113] The fact that Longford's unique associations were of interest to visitors therefore reflects wider trends.

Lybbe Powys remarked that the triangular form gave the house "an agreeable effect; it neither looks modern or ancient but between both; stands in the middle of the garden, only one step from the ground, so that you may instantly be out of doors."[114] Conversely, the arrangement of Fonthill House did not meet her approbation, as, unlike "Lord Radnor's, which we had that morning admir'd for being so near the garden, the ground apartments at Fonthill by a most tremendous flight of steps are, I believe, more distant from the terrace on which the house stands than the attic storey of Longford Castle".[115] This episode implies that the way the Bouveries had reconfigured the garden surrounding Longford had brought it in line with contemporary ideals regarding the fluidity between interior and exterior, and subsequently prevented the house from appearing entirely old-fashioned.

Early Visitors: Interiors

Although Longford's architecture was deemed unusual, and its history remarkable, many eighteenth-century visitors were simultaneously struck by the fashionability of the castle's interiors. Vertue noted in 1740 that Longford was "by the present possesor much adorn'd within", and that the owner "is furnishing a room purposely for pictures".[116] Many travel accounts convey a sense of approval at the interior design choices that were made at Longford. For example, in the mid-1750s, when

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[112] Letter to William Cole (1714-1782) of 22nd June 1771 in H. Walpole, *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, ed. W. S. Lewis, 48 Vols., New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937-1983, Vol. I, pp. 225-226
[113] Anderson, 'Remaking the Country House', p. 323
[114] Powys, *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys*, p. 165
[115] Powys, *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys*, pp. 166-167
[116] Vertue, 'Note Books of George Vertue', pp. 127-128

most of the refurbishment had been completed, Pococke, a prelate and anthropologist best known for his travel writings, observed that Longford "is esteemed as one of the best finish'd and furnished houses in England. The apartments below are exceeding neat and handsom, as those above are very fine and grand."[117] This description demonstrates how the works undertaken by the 1st Viscount conformed to what contemporaries believed was desirable and suitable. The author of *The Beauties of England Displayed* also remarked that "the Apartments are very elegant, and the Furniture and Decorations shew an excellent Taste; for, though they are extreamly neat, nothing tawdry is to be seen";[118] similarly, the rooms were described as "elegantly decorated in the modern Taste, and though richly furnished, yet are not gaudy" in William Angus's (1752-1821) *Seats of the Nobility and Gentry*.[119]

The repeated use of the term 'neat' to describe the rooms at Longford is revealing. Visitors appear to have used this term to convey their perception of a level of appropriateness within the interiors at Longford; of fashionability in line with the family's status. Conversely, Lybbe Powys described "the utmost profusion of magnificence" at Fonthill House as "almost too tawdrily exhibited."[120] As we have seen, with a new country seat and a new title, it was important that the Bouverie family decorated their home in a manner that spoke of their acquired station, but simultaneously avoided accusations of 'nouveau riche' vulgarity or pretension. Visitor accounts of Longford confirm that these efforts in the sphere of interior decoration were deemed to have been successful.

Decorum in interior design did not only entail the appropriation of a style suitable to one's status, but also suitable to the room itself. As Vickery has noted, Isaac Ware advised architects in the mid-eighteenth century that certain rooms required neatness, and others "shew"; Vickery has proposed that even the rich and titled "did not expect magnificence in all their rooms."[121] It is revealing that Pococke discerned

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[117] Pococke, *Travels through England*, Vol. II, p. 57
[118] Anonymous, *Beauties of England Displayed*, p. 41
[119] Angus, *Seats of the Nobility and Gentry*, unpaginated
[120] Lybbe Powys, *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys*, p. 167
[121] See I. Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture, Adorned with Plans and Elevations from Original Designs, Etc.*, London: T. Osborne and J. Shipton, 1768, p. 469 and A. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010, pp. 177, 180.

discrete decorative strategies in the upper and lower apartments at Longford, demonstrating the family's awareness of the need to reconcile form and function in interiors.

Tourists also remarked upon the suitability of the interiors at Longford to their role as inhabited spaces. Hanway wrote that "convenience with grandeur seem to be so admirably mixed, that one is rather tempted to envy the possessor for the COMFORT he may enjoy in it, than for the gratification of his pride, or ambition."[122] The disparity between Longford and its neighbour, Wilton, is epitomised by the fact that Lybbe Powys had described the latter as "to reside at … too grand, too gloomy, and what I style *most magnificently uncomfortable*".[123] Whereas luxury and necessity had traditionally been seen as opposing principles, the term 'comfort' came to encompass the eighteenth century's newly nuanced and intertwined understanding of these concepts.[124] At Longford, contemporaries' perception of the 'comfortable' quality of the interiors demonstrates the decorous balance they deemed the family to have struck between luxury and necessity.

Lewis has defined 'home' as "an environment which privileges comfort and convenience over grandeur and display, in which primary attention is paid to rooms and objects for the kinship family".[125] Hanway's observation implies that the 1st Viscount had been motivated primarily by a desire to create a home that was easy to live in, rather than one designed solely to show off his wealth and status through ostentatious display. Moreover, it shows how these priorities were apparent to tourists, and helped the family to gain respect among them. Although tourism at Longford might have caused some tension between its public and private roles, it is striking that the castle's apparently domestic nature was considered a merit when it came under general scrutiny.

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122 Hanway, *Journal of Eight Days Journey*, p. 47
123 Lybbe Powys, *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys*, p. 165
124 Crowley, *Invention of Comfort*, pp. 142-143, 149
125 Lewis, 'When a House is not a Home', p. 341

Earlier tourists also took an interest in the decorative arts and items of furniture at Longford.[126] Vertue noted the presence of vases and "fine marble Tables" in the Gallery,[127] whilst Sullivan remarked; "never was furniture more happily disposed, or elegance and simplicity more perfectly combined."[128] Pococke commented at length on the furnishings of several rooms, particularly noting imports such as "many fine Japan pieces of furniture" and "chimney boards … made of Chinese pictures, which show several of their customs."[129] These accounts give overall impressions of the rooms, rather than isolating individual objects or elements for discrete and extended praise or critique.

Accounts by Pococke and others thus devoted space to describing specific elements such as wainscoting, gilding, chimneypieces, stained glass windows, and soft furnishings of damask and chintz, as well as tapestry.[130] The author of *The Beauties of England Displayed* commented on the "modern Tapestry from the droll Paintings of Teniers", as well as how "among the various and handsome Furniture in the different Apartments, are many of green of different Manufactures and Shades",[131] and Hanway similarly mentioned the various "manufactures" and "hues" of green, as well as the room "adorned with new tapestry, from the droll paintings of Teniers."[132] Simon Jervis has suggested that tapestries were sometimes "treated as proxies for paintings" by visitors, with their subjects and makers often noted,[133] and Anderson has suggested that commenting on tapestries was conventional in visitor accounts.[134]

Anderson has also observed, however, that authors of guidebooks were often liable to neglect furnishings and decorative elements in the country house interior; a

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[126] Although "eighteenth-century usage … would often have described paintings as furniture" (S. Jervis, 'Furniture in Eighteenth-Century Country House Guides' in *Furniture History*, Vol. 42, 2006, p. 65), accounts of Longford specifically mention items such as tables and wainscoting.
[127] Vertue, 'Note Books of George Vertue', p. 128
[128] R. J. Sullivan, *A Tour Through Parts of England, Scotland, and Wales, in 1778. In a Series of Letters*, 2 Vols., London, 1785, Vol. I, p. 190
[129] Pococke, *Travels through England*, Vol. II, p. 57
[130] Kennedy, *New Description*, manuscript annotations; Hanway, *Journal of Eight Days Journey*, p. 48; Pococke, *Travels through England*, Vol. II, p. 57; Anonymous, *Beauties of England Displayed*, p. 41; and *Salisbury Guide*, p. 84
[131] Anonymous, *Beauties of England Displayed*, p. 41
[132] Hanway, *Journal of Eight Days Journey*, p. 48
[133] Jervis, 'Furniture in Eighteenth-Century Country House Guides', p. 74
[134] Anderson, 'Remaking the Country House', p. 226

category comprising items such as "chairs, tables, mirrors, curtains and vases",[135] because they were not as often unique items in the same way as works of fine art were. In addition, they were considered "inescapably commercial", as they had a use value, rather than a purely decorative function.[136] Jervis has similarly remarked that guidebook authors would engage less frequently with items of furniture, whereas they would pay attention to individual paintings, sculptures, or picturesque views of gardens, which gave the writers "an opportunity to flaunt connoisseurship".[137] However, Anderson has proposed that furniture could still be relied upon "as a demonstration of one's good taste", and that such objects were "a topic of deep interest" to owners and visitors alike.[138] The focus upon furnishings that is discernible in many visitors' accounts of Longford may well speak to the individuals' own interests, and the fact that their accounts differed in purpose from those of guidebook authors, more concerned with engaging with connoisseurship. It may also reflect the particularly high calibre of the furniture at Longford.

Later Visitors: Connoisseurship

Visitors in the early- to mid-nineteenth century took a greater interest in the standard and treatment of works of fine art at Longford, than in the house and grounds as a totality. This may well have much to do with the occupations of the people who left accounts from this period. In addition, by this point in time, the art collection at Longford was of an exceptional standard, well publicised, and more extensive than it had been in the mid-eighteenth century. Many visitors travelled to the castle expressly to see the paintings. For example, the German travel writer and librarian Spiker went to Longford as, "on account of the collection of pictures it contains, it was necessary to visit."[139]

The pictures responsible for drawing this visitor to Longford were its old masters. Spiker noted the presence of ancestral family portraits, but considered them "of little

[135] Anderson, 'Remaking the Country House', p. 207
[136] Anderson, 'Remaking the Country House', pp. 222, 224-227
[137] Jervis, 'Furniture in Eighteenth-Century Country House Guides', p. 84
[138] Anderson, 'Remaking the Country House', pp. 210, 212, 228
[139] Spiker, *Travels through England, Wales and Scotland*, Vol. II, p. 167

value as works of art", and instead concentrated upon the paintings in Gallery and its anti-room.[140] His attitude contrasts with Vertue's earlier acknowledgement of "family pictures",[141] and Pococke's note of the picture of "Beauverie, the ancestor, who fled in Queen Elizabeth's time for religion from Flanders" (fig. 4).[142] As Rosemary Sweet has observed, in contrast with the preoccupations and emphasis of Grand Tour travel, eighteenth-century tourists visiting country houses in Britain took a particular interest in family histories and the place of the dynasty within the region.[143] This comparison highlights the changing concerns of visitors over time, and the extent to which early nineteenth-century visitors from abroad, especially those with formal connections with the art world, appear to have been more motivated by connoisseurship.

Many of these visitors offered an assessment of the art collection as a whole. Spiker wrote; "we may indeed affirm of this comparatively small, but most select gallery, that it does not contain one single ordinary picture".[144] Passavant concurred, emphasising "the fine gallery of paintings",[145] whilst Waagen, writing after his second visit had allowed him to study the collection in greater detail, stated that it "may justly be considered one of the most important in the country."[146] The latter two visitors, both museum directors, have been described as "the pioneers of modern art history" by Colin Bailey.[147] Their praise is thus indicative of the calibre of Longford's art collection at the time.

These visitors remarked upon the quality, condition, and attribution of the works of art, and one gains a sense that standards at Longford were measured against those of

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140 Spiker, *Travels through England, Wales and Scotland*, Vol. II, pp. 168-169
141 Vertue, 'Note Books of George Vertue', p. 127
142 Pococke, *Travels through England*, Vol. II, p. 57
143 R. Sweet, 'The Italian Grand Tour and the 18th Century Country House', keynote lecture at *Travel and the Country House* conference, University of Northampton, 15th September 2014
144 Spiker, *Travels through England, Wales and Scotland*, Vol. II, p. 169
145 J. D. Passavant, *Tour of a German Artist in England, with Notices of Private Galleries, and Remarks on the State of Art*, 2 Vols., 1836, Vol. I, p. 293
146 Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art*, Vol. III, p. 362
147 C. J. Bailey, 'Introduction' in Passavant, *Tour of a German Artist in England*, Vol. I, p. vi. On Passavant's education and background, see Bailey, 'Introduction', pp. vi-xviii, and on Waagen, see F. Haskell, *The Ephemeral Museum: Old Master Paintings and the Rise of the Art Exhibition*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000, pp. 83-84.

early nineteenth-century public art museums.[148] Spiker described the painting of *Venus Disarming Cupid* (fig. 68) as "said to be by Correggio, but even if not by him, a most fascinating and tender composition".[149] Passavant professed of a portrait of Luther attributed to Holbein[150] that "the shadows are too decidedly brown for the pencil of that master".[151] When noting "a beautiful old German picture", then attributed to Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), the latter also declared that it was "unquestionably not by him, and with much greater probability by the hand of *Lucas van Leyden.*"[152] Waagen similarly took issue with the attribution of certain works, such as a portrait of King Edward VI (1637-1553),[153] which he stated was "too poor a production for Holbein".[154] These nineteenth-century accounts also evoke a spirit of connoisseurship in their authors' quotation of other experts. Spiker footnoted work by the German art historian Johann Dominico Fiorillo (1748-1821), to provide his reader with a follow-up reference, and presumably to add weight and authority to his own account.[155]

Visitors at this time also judged the condition of the paintings, attesting to the notion that country house owners of the time were considered to be custodians of their collections. Spiker remarked that Holbein's *Ambassadors* was "in as good preservation, as if it had only within a few days been taken from the Easel",[156] but Waagen noted that "owing to long neglect … many [pictures] are not seen to fair advantage."[157] He concluded that the collection "would greatly gain in effect by the discreet cleaning and varnishing of many a work now seen to disadvantage."[158] Visitors did at times see works of art in less than ideal condition within country

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148 On how the principles of picture hanging changed between private and public art collections in the nineteenth century, see C. Whitehead, *The Public Art Museum in Nineteenth Century Britain: The Development of the National Gallery*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005, pp. 3-27.
149 Spiker, *Travels through England, Wales and Scotland*, Vol. II, p. 170
150 Current attribution and whereabouts unknown.
151 Passavant, *Tour of a German Artist in England*, Vol. I, p. 294
152 Passavant, *Tour of a German Artist in England*, Vol. I, p. 295. Identity unknown.
153 Now attributed to circle of Guillim Streetes (Christie, Manson & Woods Ltd., *Inventory of Selected Chattels: The Earl of Radnor, Longford Castle*, 3 Vols., 27th October 2010, Vol. I, p. 116).
154 Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists*, Vol. III, p. 55. See also his regret at having "allowed the name of Sebastian del Piombo to pass unquestioned" on his first visit (Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art*, Vol. III, pp. 358-359).
155 Spiker, *Travels through England, Wales and Scotland*, Vol. II, p. 171
156 Spiker, *Travels through England, Wales and Scotland*, Vol. II, p. 171
157 Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art*, Vol. III, p. 354
158 Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art*, Vol. III, p. 362

houses,[159] but it is notable that this episode is again suggestive of a disinclination on the part of the 3rd Earl, Longford's owner at the time, to care for and pay attention to the art collection in the same way as his predecessors had done.

These visitors also commented upon their ability – or otherwise – to view the pictures clearly. Waagen found that a portrait depicting the German religious reformer Johann Œcolampadius (1482-1531)[160] "hangs too high to admit of a positive opinion",[161] and, later, that a painting by Gaspard Dughet "hangs in too dark a place."[162] Spiker was similarly concerned with the lighting arrangements in one of the bedchambers. He remarked that "one would rather have wished to see the same pictures placed in one of the front rooms, for in this, they want the proper light."[163] Despite the works undertaken to the interiors during the eighteenth century, it appears that Longford was not deemed able to fully accommodate works of art in line with the standards demanded of the time by these commentators. Their remarks sit in contrast to earlier visitors' emphasis upon Longford as a home, and are demonstrative of their particular connoisseurial occupations, as the situation, condition and accessibility of the paintings was of special significance to them in their concern to confirm or contest attributions. Even in the eighteenth century, however, Hanway had hinted that the proportions of the rooms were unsuited to the display of the Claudes, stating that "the ceiling is hardly of sufficient height".[164] Visitors could clearly be aware that the family had had to 'make do' with the architectural boundaries and restrictions of the Elizabethan castle.

'Star Pieces'

Despite the differences in the contents and emphases of visitors' accounts over the course of the period under review, certain 'star pieces' were repeatedly singled out for praise. Anderson has observed that individual objects often received special attention within country house guidebooks, such as a painting by Carlo Dolci at

[159] Moir, *The Discovery of Britain*, p. 71
[160] Current attribution and whereabouts unknown.
[161] Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists*, Vol. III, p. 54
[162] Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art*, Vol. III, p. 355
[163] Spiker, *Travels through England, Wales and Scotland*, Vol. II, p. 172
[164] Hanway, *Journal of Eight Days Journey*, p. 48

Burghley.[165] Accounts of Longford similarly demonstrate visitors' recognition of, and interest in, the multifaceted nature of its art collection. The 'star pieces' singled out for attention in the Bouveries' art collection not only included eminent old master paintings by the likes of Claude and Nicolas Poussin, but also more idiosyncratic pieces, such as the paintings by Holbein and the Steel Chair.

The works of art most frequently mentioned in tourist accounts of Longford are the two paintings by Claude (figs. 55 and 56). Vertue commented on them and their cost,[166] although, at the time of his visit, the 1st Viscount had not yet acquired many other paintings upon which such a visitor *could* comment. The paintings were variously described as "most distinguished";[167] "two of the best Pieces of *Claude Lorrain*";[168] "the two celebrated pictures of Claude Lorraine … amazing fine landscapes indeed";[169] "the two most admired pictures in this collection";[170] "justly celebrated"[171] and "of the greatest beauty".[172] This repetition of praise surely served to reinforce the fame and reputation of these pictures, confirming their quality. Visitors also remarked upon Poussin's *Adoration of the Golden Calf* and *Passage of the Red Sea* (figs. 57 and 58), and a painting of Saint Sebastian.[173] In addition, these works of art were all highlighted in the *Salisbury Guide*, emphasised as attractions for potential visitors.[174]

The paintings by Holbein also received sustained attention within visitor accounts, particularly in the early nineteenth century, when *The Ambassadors* was at Longford. Visitors at this time noted its provenance,[175] dimensions, and intriguing composition, this interest perhaps stemming from the fact that some of the visitors themselves

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165 Anderson, 'Remaking the Country House', pp. 188-189
166 Vertue, 'Note Books of George Vertue', p. 128
167 Hanway, *Journal of Eight Days Journey*, p. 48
168 Anonymous, *Beauties of England Displayed*, p. 41
169 Lybbe Powys, *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys*, p. 164
170 Gilpin, *Observations on the Western Parts of England*, p. 73
171 Britton, *Beauties of England and Wales*, Vol. XV, p. 391
172 Passavant, *Tour of a German Artist in England*, Vol. I, p. 296
173 See Gilpin, *Observations on the Western Parts of England*, p. 73; Spiker, *Travels through England, Wales and Scotland*, Vol. II, p. 170; Passavant, *Tour of a German Artist in England*, Vol. I, pp. 295-296; and Kennedy, *New Description*, manuscript annotations.
174 *Salisbury Guide*, p. 83
175 Britton recorded that it was "formerly in Le Brun's collection" (Britton, *Beauties of England and Wales*, Vol. XV, p. 392).

were German.[176] Although some of the attributions of other works given to Holbein were contested, it is notable that Longford's holdings were seen to be closely associated with this artist.

The Steel Chair (fig. 41) was also considered a 'star piece'. It was discussed at great length in the *Salisbury Guide*,[177] and Spiker devoted three hundred words to his description of the chair and its provenance.[178] Visitors were clearly interested in its antiquity, as well as its aesthetic. Passavant introduced the chair as "another interesting object in this mansion", and "quite a work of art",[179] signifying its parity, in his eyes, with the fine art objects discussed throughout the rest of his account. Given the numerous highly detailed reliefs that the chair features, and the difficulty of working in steel,[180] it is unsurprising that it was considered more a piece of sculpture than a piece of furniture. Waagen likewise described the chair as "a truly magnificent specimen of sculpture in iron" and "the richest and most tasteful work of the kind that I am acquainted with."[181]

However, it is significant that, unlike their predecessors, the connoisseurial visitors of this period did not afford much space to describing Longford's furnishings in general. Anderson has observed that guidebook authors would only elaborate upon a piece of furniture if it was a one-off production, or had particular historical significance.[182] The Steel Chair met both these criteria, displayed not for use but for show, and so it therefore attracted the attention of visitors, whereas a piece of furniture whose type could be seen in a number of houses would not. Similarly, the 1800 guidebook to Stourhead, and visitor accounts of the house, singled out for attention the cabinet once belonging to Pope Sixtus V.[183] These accounts of 'star pieces', reiterated and reinforced over the course of a century, demonstrate how

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[176] See Spiker, *Travels through England, Wales and Scotland*, Vol. II, p. 170 and Passavant, *Tour of a German Artist in England*, Vol. I, p. 293. Waagen wrote that the portrait of Erasmus was "alone worth a pilgrimage to Longford Castle" (Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art*, Vol. III, p. 356).
[177] *Salisbury Guide*, pp. 83-84
[178] Spiker, *Travels through England, Wales and Scotland*, Vol. II, pp. 173-174
[179] Passavant, *Tour of a German Artist in England*, Vol. I, p. 296
[180] N. Penny with the assistance of S. Avery-Quash, *A Guide to Longford Castle*, 2012, p. 27
[181] Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists*, Vol. III, pp. 58-59
[182] Anderson, 'Remaking the Country House', pp. 225-226
[183] See Anderson, 'Remaking the Country House', p. 226 and Lybbe Powys, *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys*, p. 172. Horace Walpole's cabinet also stood out within his collection (Jervis, 'Furniture in Eighteenth-Century Country House Guides', p. 84).

Longford came to be characterised in the popular imagination: as a repository of both fashionable works of art and items of antiquarian interest.

'Situation'

Visitors' encounters with the wider estate and their response to Longford's position in the landscape were often recounted in their travel writing. Fiennes, for example, described how Longford was "just so upon the great River [the Avon] that it looks like a little Castle or Shipp",[184] and Pelate, in his late seventeenth-century manuscript history of Longford, had noted that the castle "in a flood looks like a Ship att anchor in some good Harbour".[185] That both Pelate and Fiennes remarked upon the castle's ship-like quality in juxtaposition with the river attests to the striking impression left by the castle's situation upon contemporaries. However, it could also suggest that they may have been inspired by the relief carving depicting a boat on the entrance front of the castle, or, alternatively, that Fiennes may have had access to Pelate's manuscript history, borrowing the simile.

Many later visitors also remarked upon Longford's position, including Vertue, Lybbe Powys and the anonymous author of *The Beauties of England Displayed*, who commented on how Longford "is sweetly situated in a pleasant Valley".[186] The artist, cleric and author William Gilpin (1724-1804) concluded that the castle "borrows little from its situation",[187] and in 1753, Elizabeth Somerset, Duchess of Beaufort (c.1713-1799) noted of Longford, in a similarly negative vein: "prospect pretty but the situation low".[188] As Moir has remarked, "tourists felt little compunction in stating their views roundly", and enjoyed "passing judgement" upon aspects of a house.[189] In the mid-eighteenth century, the relationships between buildings and their

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184 C. Fiennes, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. and with an introduction by C. Morris, with a Foreword by G. M. Trevelyan, O.M., London: The Cresset Press, 1949, p. 57. On Fiennes's background and travels, see C. Morris, 'Introduction' in Fiennes, *Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, pp. xix-xlii.
185 WSHC 1946/3/2C/1
186 Vertue, 'Note Books of George Vertue', p. 127; Lybbe Powys, *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys*, p. 164; and Anonymous, *Beauties of England Displayed*, p. 40
187 Gilpin, *Observations on the Western Parts of England*, p. 72
188 Harris, 'Duchess of Beaufort's *Observations on Places*', p. 40
189 Moir, *Discovery of Britain*, p. 67. For visitors' judgements of gardens, see E. Moir, 'Georgian Visits to Landscape Gardens' in *Country Life*, 7th January 1960, Vol. 127, p. 6-7. Lybbe Powys wrote of "a most

environs, or "questions of 'Situation"', were foregrounded in the architectural theories of the topographical artist Thomas Sandby (1721-1798).[190] Such theories arguably influenced not only pictorial representations of estates, but also written ones.

These eighteenth-century visitor accounts also demonstrate the way in which it was conventional at the time to approach the country house and its surroundings as a totality, with the whole greater than the sum of its parts in conveying taste, status and wealth. In the case of Longford, some of the same criteria were applied to the grounds as to the house. For example, in 1778, Sullivan noted how "the park and grounds, on entrance, carry the comfortable appearance of neatness and attention",[191] demonstrating how the quality of 'neatness' could be discerned both inside and out. The visibility of country house grounds could help to consolidate a sense of the owner's standing within the local community, and, for the garden designer Humphrey Repton (1752-1818), ensuring that people were allowed onto a country estate, to see "signs of … ownership",[192] was important in communicating ideas of status. Tom Williamson has emphasised the significance of parks and gardens in the culture of country house visiting,[193] whilst Moir has suggested that gardens provided some relief from a "conscientious inspection" of a house's interior and art collection.[194]

However, the space devoted within visitor accounts to descriptions of the wider estate at Longford is not comparable to that dedicated to the architecture, interiors and contents of the house. One must remember that the gardens would not yet have matured at the time of many of these visits.[195] Moreover, whilst the process of garden transformation was a draw for many visitors,[196] other gardens visited by

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dismal, dreary situation" at "the Duke of Queensberry's seat" (presumably William Douglas, 4th Duke of Queensberry [1724-1810]) (Lybbe Powys, *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys*, p. 174).
[190] J. Bonehill and S. Daniels, 'Real Views from Nature in this Country': Paul Sandby, Estate Portraiture, and British Landscape Art' in *The British Art Journal*, Vol. 10, No. 1, Spring/Summer 2009, p. 73
[191] Sullivan, *Tour Through Parts of England, Scotland, and Wales*, Vol. I, p. 190
[192] T. Williamson, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth-Century England*, Stroud: Sutton, 1995, p. 147
[193] Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, p. 85
[194] See discussion of Wilton in Moir, 'Georgian Visits to Landscape Gardens', p. 6.
[195] See Hanway's remarks about "thinly planted" trees, quoted in Chapter 2.
[196] Moir, 'Georgian Visits to Landscape Gardens', p. 6

eighteenth-century travellers might have offered more in the way of entertainment, or had better infrastructure in place to receive tourists. Destinations such as Hagley; Stourhead; Stowe, Buckinghamshire; and the Leasowes, West Midlands, for example, were furnished with tearooms.[197] The apparent lack of such facilities at Longford concurs with the lack of published guidebook to the collection during the eighteenth century, reminding us that this estate functioned primarily as a home, rather than a tourist attraction.

Conclusion

The fact that visitors were received at Longford during the long eighteenth century, and that the castle and aspects of its art collection were made known to wider society through print culture, suggests that the 1st Viscount and 1st and 2nd Earls wished to put their possessions to good use in the improvement of wider society, and to convey their taste and status to a genteel audience. Many of those who did gain access to Longford – genteel tourists, antiquarians and art historians – spoke of the estate, building and its contents in glowing terms. As this chapter has shown, the mechanisms by which they experienced Longford, and their responses to it, demonstrate its idiosyncrasy, but also its importance.

Anderson has recently proposed that eighteenth-century country houses required 'remaking' in order to accommodate tourists.[198] However, not all owners published guidebooks, nor publicised regular opening hours, and Longford appears to have engaged comparatively little with the 'remaking' imperative in this period. Although visiting did take place at Longford, it differed in nature, and was less systematised, than, for example, at its neighbour, Wilton. However, Wilton was something of a pioneer in the sphere of country house tourism, and consequently should not be taken as particularly representative.

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[197] Tinniswood, *History of Country House Visiting*, p. 75. On attractions and amusements at Longleat and Houghton, amongst other locations, see Moir, 'Georgian Visits to Landscape Gardens', p. 8.
[198] Anderson, 'Remaking the Country House', p. 103

The Bouveries seem to have accommodated tourists on a fairly *ad hoc*, informal basis. Furthermore, existing documentation, such as inventories of the collection, was apparently appropriated when visitors called, rather than material specifically published for wider consumption. The family seem to have primarily considered the castle as a home during the period covered by this thesis, and its 'comfortableness' was a quality noted and praised by visitors. The castle's decorous decoration, combined with its distinct architectural character and prestigious collection of fine art, has consistently left a favourable impression upon those who visit Longford.

Conclusion

This thesis has explored the art collections at Longford Castle during the long eighteenth century, drawing upon the previously under-researched Bouverie family papers to investigate issues of acquisition, patronage and display within this unusual, less well-known, but highly significant country house. Studying the archive alongside the castle and its collection, which today retain many traces of their eighteenth-century form and arrangement, this research has focused on the most important period in their history: c.1730-c.1830. In this period, the art collection was established, and the most important acquisitions were made by the three key Bouverie collectors: Jacob, 1st Viscount Folkestone, William, 1st Earl of Radnor, and Jacob, 2nd Earl of Radnor.

This thesis has contributed to our understanding of the relationship between social status and art collecting during this period, and the importance of the country seat in articulating identity. It has situated the Bouverie family alongside other aristocratic art collectors, and within the context of the eighteenth-century art world, and explored the conventionality – or otherwise – of their tastes in art and architecture. The thesis has also explored the ways in which art was experienced at Longford, through the use of evidence relating to the arrangement of works of art, and through contemporary visitor accounts, to gain a fuller understanding of how these tastes were conveyed and understood.

Incorporating social history, architectural history, garden history, the history of collecting and taste in the fine *and* decorative arts concurrently, this thesis has brought together fields of research more often studied in isolation. The methodological approach adopted throughout this thesis has enabled a comprehensive picture to be built up of Longford and its art collection for the first time, and recaptured a sense of how contemporaries perceived the castle, its surroundings, and contents as a totality. This conclusion summarises the accumulated findings to present answers to the research questions set out in the introduction, pertaining to the Bouverie family's attitude to Longford and their other properties; their tastes, collecting practices and mechanisms; their display strategies;

and their attitude to visitors. These are all framed within the contexts of their social ascent, and the wider eighteenth-century art world.

Longford Castle and its Significance

The Bouveries' social rise began with the migration of a Huguenot refugee to England, followed by overseas mercantile and commercial success, then English landownership, and two ennoblements. By the end of the period under scrutiny, the family owned Longford, their principal seat; Coleshill House in Berkshire, a secondary country house; and 52 Grosvenor Street, a town house in London. Activities played out on these different 'stages' enabled the family to 'enact' (to use a term recently coined by Stephen Hague) their newly earned social position in different contexts.[1]

Rented town houses, and, later, 52 Grosvenor Street, provided residences close to Parliament and the most important venues associated with the London social season, where the family could integrate themselves amongst eighteenth-century metropolitan elites. In London, the family carried out their duties as Members of Parliament, and subscribed to the new criteria for eighteenth-century noble status, such as membership and leadership of notable clubs and societies. These included philanthropically-minded organisations such as the French Hospital, a charity for Huguenot refugees, which enabled the Bouveries to maintain links with the Huguenot community, whilst signifying their status as members of the charitable metropolitan elite. The family's involvement during the 1750s in the foundation of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce demonstrates their dedication to, and position at the forefront of artistic and commercial improvement in the capital, and provides an important context for their roles as patrons of the arts.

[1] See S. Hague, *The Gentleman's House in the British Atlantic World 1680-1780*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, pp. 116-117

This thesis has argued that the range of positions held by the Bouveries, within the realms of politics and philanthropy, was key in securing their status for posterity. In addition to the obligations described above, they also subscribed to paternalist traditions in the provinces, gaining respect as benevolent landlords, as a pastoral ode written to the 1st Viscount and his wife upon their leaving Kent in 1737 to reside at Longford attests: "Shepherd & Shepherdess, farewell … You'll happy be, where-e'er you dwell, And make Arcadia ev'ry where."[2] The Bouveries showed themselves to be committed to their social responsibilities, the successful management of their estate,[3] and the ongoing improvement of their property by means of further land acquisitions and maintenance work.

A scholarly debate on the relative importance of town and country houses to the eighteenth-century nobility continues.[4] This thesis can contribute by noting that, in the case of the Bouverie family, Longford was clearly their most important property. Whilst town-house scholarship to date has tended to focus upon the 'greats', or particularly notable examples, such as Spencer House, London, or artists' residences,[5] the findings here have shown that the Bouveries used their town houses on a seasonal and impermanent basis, like many other aristocratic families. The principal family portrait collection was housed at Longford, in line with the tradition for keeping such works of art at the country seat, where they helped to conjure a sense of dynasty. In 1801, the antiquarian John Britton thus recorded that "the principal pictures belonging to the family are preserved at Longford Castle".[6] The manner in which the Bouveries' most important possessions were consolidated and

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[2] Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre (hereafter WSHC) 1946/4/2B/1 Volume of family history documents 1623-1834

[3] See P. Langford, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman 1689-1798*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991, p. 389

[4] As evidenced in G. Waterfield, J. Friedman and S. Brooke, 'Collecting and Display' panel discussion at *Animating the Georgian London Town House*, second day of two-day conference organised by the National Gallery, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art and Birkbeck, University of London, 18th March 2016, held at Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art.

[5] See J. Friedman, *Spencer House: Chronicle of a Great London Mansion*, London: Zwemmer, 1993 and D. Esposito, 'Artist in Residence: Joshua Reynolds at 47 Leicester Fields', paper presented at *Animating the Georgian London Town House*, second day of two-day conference organised by the National Gallery, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art and Birkbeck, University of London, 18th March 2016, held at the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art.

[6] J. Britton and E. W. Brayley, *The Beauties of England and Wales; or Delineations, Topographical, Historical, and Descriptive, of Each County, Embellished with Engravings*, 18 Vols, London, 1801, Vol. I, p. 132

– importantly – *preserved* in this location suggests that they deemed it to be their primary family seat, and their 'home'.

The security of the family's social position was encapsulated by, and arguably rested upon, the stability of their seat at Longford. Its Elizabethan aesthetic created a firm link between this immigrant family and English heritage. Purchased by a Bouverie ancestor, with the Bouverie fortune, it was intrinsically linked to their patrilineal identity in a way that Coleshill and 52 Grosvenor Street, acquired through marriages to female heiresses, did not. The survival of an extensive archive at Longford also implies the importance accorded by the family to this country seat; these papers deemed the most valuable to the family.

The three collectors with whom this thesis has been concerned took an interest in English history: a fact manifested in the degree to which they left the unusual appearance of Longford Castle more or less unaltered. The monied newcomer hoping to scale the heights of the English social system in the eighteenth century had to tread a careful path between an adequate demonstration of fashionable artistic patronage, and the need to avoid the pitfalls of luxury and ostentation that would mark them out as 'nouveau riche'. Following his inheritance and ennoblement, the 1st Viscount achieved a decorous balance appropriate to his ascending social status, by retaining, rather than remodelling, Longford's original architectural fabric, and within this framework, only partially refurbishing the interiors with fashionable and costly bespoke furnishings. Moreover, he appropriated existing spaces – such as the Elizabethan Long Gallery, and lobbies – for the display of art in line with new ideals.

It appears, then, that the 1st Viscount's interests stretched beyond the immediate present, to both the indigenous past and the family's future. This agenda is also evident in his tree planting on the Longford estate; an activity expressive of confidence in the ongoing line of the family. The 1st and 2nd Earls, in turn, similarly appear to have been concerned with the legacy they had inherited, and which they would go on to hand down, honouring the 1st Viscount's changes and only mooting architectural improvements that were true to Longford's distinctive character.

In a letter written to his heir in 1799, the 2nd Earl reflected upon the importance of farsightedness on the part of members of the family, past and present, in securing their fortune: "Our Ancestors … by their Prudence, & good Management they gained the Wealth, which has increased our pecuniary Rank in Society; & with it the Necessity of attending to the Means of at least retaining it".[7] This thesis has highlighted the importance to this noble family of the *retention* of their fortune and heirlooms, as well as their development and expansion. As scholars have recently been reminded, whilst it is easy for the historian to map change and chart progress, it is important also to note continuities, particularly within the domestic interior.[8] For the Bouveries, the concentration of expenditure within certain rooms at Longford, together with the upkeep and maintenance of those interiors, provides further evidence of their overall disinclination towards excessive show.

Taste

This thesis has argued that the Bouverie family, and contemporary visitors to Longford, were well aware of the house's idiosyncratic and antiquarian attractions. The three collectors' tastes, as expressed through architecture, interior furnishings and the fine arts, were driven by personal preferences, individual spirit, and an interest in the 'curious' and unusual, as well as by prevailing academic ideals regarding the hierarchies of art, as was the case for a number of eighteenth-century collectors.

The Bouveries acquired expensive art objects that did not necessarily represent conventional taste, such as the Steel Chair (fig. 41), and Hans Holbein the Younger's painting now known as *The Ambassadors* (fig. 70). At the time of its purchase, the Holbein did not reflect popular taste, but the family displayed it alongside their most fashionable French and Italian old master paintings in the prestigious surroundings

[7] WSHC 1946/4/2B/1

[8] M. Jenkins and C. Newman, discussion in Q&A for panel 'Construction and Reconstruction' and paper 'London in Pieces: Building Biographies in Georgian Mayfair', *Animating the Georgian London Town House*, first day of two-day conference organised by the National Gallery, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art and Birkbeck, University of London, 17th March 2016, held at the National Gallery

of the Gallery at Longford, suggesting the parity of these different styles in the eyes of the collectors. The family's motivations for collecting art straddled the boundaries of virtuosic and connoisseurial traditions, adding weight to recent arguments that any transition between these two types of collecting in the eighteenth century was less clear-cut than previously believed.[9]

The 1st Viscount acquired many items of decorative, virtuosic and connoisseurial value at auction, often of different media, schools, and financial values, to establish the art collection at Longford. These included Dutch and Flemish genre paintings, a select few important French and Italian landscapes, and small-scale bronze statuettes. At a sale in 1740, for example, he bought a *Madonna* by Guido Reni, Medici vases, statues of River Gods, and some furnishings.[10] This pattern of acquisition, along with the way in which paintings and sculptures of different media were displayed together at Longford, indicates the degree to which the 1st Viscount thought holistically about his art collection. His patterns of expenditure, as revealed through account books, also show that he was thinking simultaneously about interiors, furnishings, and the art collection.

Research on the Longford account books has served to highlight the relative costs of furnishings and paintings, and it has been possible to extrapolate the extent to which the family were keen to invest in key items to bring the interiors up-to-date, such as chimneypieces, bespoke items of furniture, silverware, and green damask and velvet wall hangings. These high-quality furnishings and pieces of decorative art worked alongside paintings as part of a whole, to articulate the family's wealth and status through their costliness and, sometimes, also their iconography. For instance, chimneypieces and tables acquired for Longford referenced the Bouveries' sense of Englishness through the use of decorative motifs such as acorns and foxes (fig. 28). These furnishings also enabled Longford to hold its own alongside other country houses, such as Houghton Hall, Norfolk, and at times to rival them in terms of its suitability as a backdrop to a collection of art. Moreover, the account books show

[9] See H. Mount, 'The Reception of Dutch Genre Painting in England 1695-1829', unpublished PhD thesis, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 1991 and C. A. Hanson, *The English Virtuoso: Art, Medicine, and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
[10] WSHC 1946/3/1B/1 House book [of household and personal expenses of Sir Jacob Bouverie] 1723-1745

the family's readiness to spend large sums on individual paintings – such as those by Claude Lorrain and Nicholas Poussin (figs. 55, 56, 57, 58) – that again signified their status amongst their peers as important and discriminating collectors of works of fine art.

With the foundations of the art collection laid, their decorative surroundings established, and the mode of display inaugurated, the 1st and 2nd Earls were able to insert key new acquisitions into the collection established by the 1st Viscount, and to continue to patronise the best contemporary artists of the time, such as the sculptor John Michael Rysbrack, and the painters Thomas Hudson, Thomas Gainsborough, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Richard Cosway, whilst not making substantial changes to the overall look of the collection at Longford. The family followed patronage patterns: for instance, commissioning portraits prompted by important life events such as marriages, to record those events for posterity, whilst also ensuring that commissions represented them in a manner that was true to their own sense of identity.

The family achieved a sense of unbroken transition between acquisitions made on the secondary market and new commissions acquired directly from artists. Although eighteenth-century artists such as Jonathan Richardson, William Hogarth, and James Northcote (1746-1831) lamented collectors' disinclination to employ contemporary artists in favour of buying old master paintings abroad,[11] for the Bouverie family, purchasing works on the secondary market and patronising the painters and sculptors of the day went hand in hand. For example, through the adoption of early seventeenth-century dress in contemporary representations of the family, a sense of stylistic harmony was created across the collection, which included paintings by the seventeenth-century painter, Sir Anthony Van Dyck. This historicising aesthetic ensured that the collection formed a seamless whole, and provided a bulwark against datedness, again suggesting the family's concern with posterity.

[11] M. Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1993, p. 49

By employing the most fashionable artists of the times, the family demonstrated their wealth and artistic sensibility. They also achieved a sense of dynastic permanence in their collection by means of stylistic continuity, by commissioning multiple works of art from the same artist, and employing painters who had learnt from one another – as in the case of Reynolds, who was a pupil of Hudson. This sense of succession was also emphasised by the manner in which family portraits were displayed at Longford, with connections made apparent within the hang. The Bouveries also appreciated and acquired historical portraits by the English school for their ability to harmonise with the castle's sixteenth-century heritage, and to provide a ready-made sense of establishment and ancestry.

The family forged connections and associations with other illustrious art collectors by buying works of art with important provenance. The prestigious eighteenth-century French frames housing paintings by Claude recalled their previous setting in a Parisian art collection, whilst the Steel Chair, contemporaneous with Longford itself, spoke to continental Renaissance traditions of collecting, and linked Longford with Emperor Rudolf II's Imperial Kunstkammer. The fact that significant collectors – such as Sir William Hamilton and Dr. Richard Mead, for example – had owned particular works of art validated their historic worth and ensured they represented sound financial investments.

The methods of acquisition employed by the three collectors varied slightly according to each individual, with the 1st Earl, for instance, particularly inclined to acquire new works of art via commission. Although none went on a Grand Tour to France and Italy, perhaps accounting for the paucity of antique sculpture at Longford, they did employ important agents on their behalf on the continent, such as Consul Smith at Venice. In London, they engaged the services of a number of eminent and well-established dealers such as Gerard Van der Gucht, his son Benjamin and William Buchanan. A sense of the family's increasing confidence in the art market over the long eighteenth century is indicated by the fact that, by the end of the period, they were able to advise others on the best ways in which to sell paintings. In 1807, the 2nd Earl corresponded with Lady Bridget Bouverie (1758-

1842), his half sister-in-law, offering advice as to the price at which she should sell some paintings by Guercino, and even suggesting "the King … as a purchaser".[12]

The collectors' shared tendency to follow their own instincts and tastes was matched by a willingness to dispose of certain items which they may have felt were unsuited to Longford, such as the painting then attributed to Annibale Carracci, *Adoration of the Shepherds* (fig. 67), which the 1st Earl presented to New College, Oxford in 1773. He also sold works of art at auction in 1776, including a full-length *Cupid* attributed to Van Dyck.[13] By giving away or selling works of art, they demonstrated their confidence as connoisseurs; their desire and ability to critically 'edit' their collection; and also, in the case of gifting items, their generosity.

An examination of the family's tastes, and a study of visitors' responses to Longford, has revealed an approach predicated upon the key eighteenth-century virtue of 'decorum'. The Bouveries eschewed ostentation, and appear to have held a quiet confidence in their own taste and social position. Their efforts were highly regarded by the wider art world. In 1829, George Agar-Ellis, 1st Baron Dover (1797-1833), patron of the arts and a trustee of both the British Museum and National Gallery, wrote to the 3rd Earl of Radnor asking for permission to exhibit "two or three pictures from your fine collection".[14] The letter does not mention which particular paintings Agar-Ellis had in mind for the annual exhibition of old masters organised by the British Institution, but it indicates that those active within the wider art world in the early nineteenth century knew of the collection at Longford as one of high quality. This is a point reinforced by the eminent art historian and museum director Gustav Waagen's published response to the paintings. Agar-Ellis's letter underscores the core argument presented in this thesis: that, over the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Bouverie family built up a collection of art at

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[12] WSHC 1946/4/2B/24 Correspondence 1806-1809

[13] A. Graves, *Art Sales from Early in the Eighteenth Century to Early in the 20th Century (mostly Old Masters and Early English Pictures)*, 3 Vols., London: Algernon Graves, 1918-21, Vol. I, p. 2, Vol. II, p. 92, Vol. III, pp. 110, 278. With thanks to William Heap and Alexandra Ormerod for bringing this to my attention (pers. comm. W. Heap to A. Ormerod, forwarded to the author, 4th March 2016).

[14] WSHC 1946/3/2A/13 Correspondence about paintings 1804-1877. On Agar-Ellis, see G. F. R. Barker, 'Ellis, George James Welbore Agar-, first Baron Dover (1797–1833)', rev. H. C. G. Matthew in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edition, May 2006, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8693 (accessed 29th February 2016).

Longford of national significance, and cemented their position as important aristocratic art collectors.

Experience of the Castle and Collection

An interest in sharing their art collection for the benefit of wider society may have motivated the family to open up the castle to visitors throughout the long eighteenth century. This thesis has shown that the Bouveries allowed images of Longford's exterior and some of the paintings to be reproduced in print form, whilst an examination of eighteenth-century travellers' accounts has demonstrated that Longford was included on a number of regional itineraries. The fame of certain works of art, such as the Claudes, and the attraction of neighbouring sights in the county of Wiltshire, such as Wilton House, helped to draw visitors in.

Visitors' responses differed, of course, according to their own background and the time when they visited. A number of individuals took an interest in the unusual and curious aspects of the castle, some engaged with the furnishings, whilst many remarked on what were deemed the 'star pieces' of the collection. However, the family do not appear to have advertised regular opening hours for tourists, nor published a catalogue to the collection during the eighteenth century, as was the case at Wilton, for example. Furthermore, not all visitors to the region stopped at Longford. This thesis has contributed to our understanding of the culture of country house visiting in the eighteenth century by showing that the Bouveries followed a course that was conventional amongst many other country house owners of the time; allowing some access, but not being forerunners in encouraging tourism on a large scale.

At times, the family were at the forefront of developments in taste and fashion, as is shown by the Longford interiors and the family's patronage of and links with the eighteenth-century art world, but, as their attitude to garden design, and to eighteenth-century tourist culture shows, they were not always pioneering in their subscriptions to contemporary trends. Although accessible to strangers, Longford was also very much a family home, and it is notable that many of those who did visit

the castle remarked upon its domesticity and its appearance of comfort and convenience, as well as its antiquarian and fashionable appeal. This thesis has therefore illuminated our understanding of the public and private nature of country houses during this period. It has provided a reminder to scholars to consider not only the public role of art objects in conveying taste and status, but also the family's private use and personal enjoyment of their home and possessions, and the fact that particular individuals may have felt this latter imperative more keenly than others.

The existence of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century inventories of the Longford collection demonstrates the importance the family attached to documenting their art collection, from an early stage in its history. Their careful custodianship shows that they deemed the works of art in their possession to be important heirlooms, to be passed on to subsequent generations. This is underscored by the manner in which the family solicited advice as to the care and conservation of items in their possession. For example, correspondence from 1819 gives recommendations for removing a "seeming injury on the Poussin",[15] and, in 1830, the art dealer and first Keeper of the National Gallery, William Seguier (1772-1843), was employed to make a condition report of, and treat where necessary, the paintings at Longford.[16] The recurrence of account entries relating to the upkeep of the house and collection concurs with Amanda Vickery's reminder that the majority of work undertaken to "elite interiors" in the eighteenth century was concerned with the "business of preservation".[17]

Display techniques, as documented in the inventories, suggest the Bouveries' keenness to encounter certain works of art – such as family portraits – on a regular basis, in rooms that they would have frequently used. The quantitative nature of the evidence provided by inventories means one can only conjecture as to the motivations behind particular display strategies, and relatively few letters or diary

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[15] WSHC 1946/3/2A/13
[16] WSHC 1946/3/2A/4 Survey and cleaning of paintings at Longford Castle, 1830-1840. On Seguier, see A. Laing, 'Seguier, William (1772–1843)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25045 (accessed 3rd March 2016) and A. Laing, 'William Seguier and Advice to Picture Collectors' in C. Sitwell and S. Staniforth (eds.) *Studies in the History of Painting Restoration: Proceedings of a Symposium held in London, 23 February 1996*, London: Archetype in association with the National Trust, 1998, pp. 97-120.
[17] A. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010, pp. 163-164

entries are available in the archive to shed light on the way in which the collectors experienced and appreciated their art collection. However, notebooks containing drawings and copies by Anne Duncombe, wife of the 2nd Earl, after paintings by 'Woverman',[18] provide an insight into the way the art collection appears to have been used by one of the female members of the family (fig. 131).[19] This activity can be seen in the context of eighteenth-century feminine pursuits, or 'amusements', within the country house.[20] Yet, it is notable that Anne and her husband also encouraged a young female artist from Salisbury, Margaret Sarah Carpenter (1793-1872), to visit the castle and study the pictures in the early nineteenth century, as Gainsborough had some years earlier.[21] Carpenter, then an aspiring artist, went on to enjoy a career as a portraitist, exhibiting with the Royal Academy,[22] signifying how women also used the collection at Longford in a professional capacity.

Despite these insights, the role of women in the acquisition and display of art at Longford is an area on which the surviving archival evidence has regretfully shone little light. However, this thesis has shown the centrality of certain women, such as Harriot Pleydell, in bringing money and property into the family. In research notes on the family compiled by Helen Matilda Chaplin, wife of the 5th Earl of Radnor (fig. 132), it was also noted that Anne Duncombe was "a good business woman … as she virtually managed the property for some years before her husband's death in 1828".[23] Although it has fallen outside the temporal bounds of this thesis as a topic for study, Helen Matilda's important and pioneering work in researching and cataloguing the collection in the early twentieth century is one of the most interesting aspects of

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[18] Possibly one of the Dutch seventeenth-century artists, Pieter (1623-1682), Jan (1629-1666) or Philips Wouwerman (1619-1668). Paintings attributed to Pieter, one of his followers, and one of the circle of Philips are still in the Longford collection. However, Anne's drawings cannot be firmly matched with any of these, although the subject matter (dogs, horses, figures) is similar.
[19] WSHC 1946/4/2K/21 Anne, Countess of Radnor, 1793-1794
[20] On this, see J. Cornforth and J. Fowler, *English Decoration in the 18th Century*, London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1974, pp. 248-253.
[21] See R. Smith, 'Carpenter, Margaret (Sarah)' in *Concise Dictionary of Women Artists*, ed. D. Graze, London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001, pp. 223-225
[22] R. Smith, 'Carpenter, Margaret Sarah (1793–1872)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4732 (accessed 3rd March 2016)
[23] WSHC 1946/3/2A/8 Research volumes for the Countess of Radnor's catalogue of paintings [c.1890-c.1930]. On the role of the 'mistress' and housekeeping in the eighteenth-century country house, see Cornforth and Fowler, *English Decoration in the 18th Century,* p. 255 and Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, pp. 160-161.

female involvement in the Longford art collection, and deserves future scholarly attention.

Afterlife

Much of the legacy built up at Longford by the 1st Viscount and 1st and 2nd Earls is still visible today. The majority of the art collection remains in situ, hung in the same decorative context, and continues to be cared for under the custodianship of William Pleydell-Bouverie, 9th Earl of Radnor. The ongoing importance of Longford both as a site for a collection of art, and as a family home, invites a short description of its life after the period with which this thesis has been concerned.

As noted, the 3rd Earl of Radnor appears to have differed from his predecessors in his attitude to Longford. Disillusioned by the fact that the architectural works initiated by the 2nd Earl in the early nineteenth century, designed to transform Longford into a hexagonal structure, were left incomplete, he was the first head of the family to reside for a significant period of time at Coleshill, and he shunned visitors such as Waagen who wished to see works of art at Longford. Although his predecessors had made some 'edits' to the art collection, his attempts to dispose of certain works of art were prevented by his father's trustees,[24] suggesting they were not deemed appropriate.

The nineteenth century saw the castle eventually reconfigured by the architect Anthony Salvin under the direction of the 4th Earl of Radnor,[25] and inventories continued to be made of the collection.[26] This period also saw work undertaken to the gardens, with the 4th Earl's wife sending "her gardener to Paris … to see the principal gardens, &c. there, and to collect what he possibly could that was new and

[24] See WSHC 1946/4/2B/37 Correspondence 1828-1829 for letters between the 3rd Earl and the trustees of his father's will.
[25] See WSHC 1946/3/2E/38 Specifications, correspondence and accounts for alterations to Longford Castle 1871-1878. For a short account of Salvin's works, see WSHC 1946/3/2C/12 Article on history of Longford Castle [including letter by John Cornforth] 1967-1968.
[26] See WSHC 1946/3/2A/5 Catalogues of paintings at Longford Castle 1849-1853 and 1946/3/2A/6 Picture galleries [plans of picture hangs in rooms at Longford Castle] mid-late 19th century.

rare."[27] Given the wealth of surviving archival material on the art collection, and of household and estate accounts, staff wage books, vouchers, rentals and game books for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this later period, and the topic of household and estate management, would merit substantial future research.

Helen Matilda's catalogue, produced with assistance from the music librarian and scholar William Barclay Squire;[28] Sir George Scharf, Keeper of the National Portrait Gallery;[29] and Sir Frederic Burton, Director of the National Gallery,[30] was first published in 1909, and further, shorter, editions were subsequently produced (fig. 133). The early twentieth-century history of the castle also saw tentative but limited attempts to open the house to the public.[31] Although art was not again collected on such a great scale as it had been during the lifetimes of the 1st Viscount and 1st and 2nd Earls, Longford has recently entered a new era of art collecting. The 9th Earl, a former furniture specialist at Christie's, who succeeded to the title in 2008, is an active collector, acquiring, amongst other contemporary pieces, ceramic work by the leading British artist Edmund de Waal, which sit within the historic interiors (fig. 134). He is currently engaged in a long-term project of having a number of paintings at Longford professionally cleaned, on the advice of Sir Nicholas Penny and conservation staff at the National Gallery. The gardens, meanwhile, have been restored under the direction of the present Countess of Radnor, with guidance from the Garden Museum (fig. 135), and play host to the statue of *Flora* acquired in 1759, as well as pieces of contemporary sculpture.

In recent years, Longford has been opened up to visitors, including scholars and specialist interest groups, as well as the wider public, who can now visit the castle on

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[27] WSHC 1946/3/2G/5 Alterations to the garden and grounds 1831-1832
[28] On Barclay Squire, see H. Cobbe, 'Squire, William Barclay (1855–1927)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edition, May 2006, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36228 (accessed 2nd March 2016).
[29] On Scharf, see P. Jackson, 'Scharf, Sir George (1820–1895)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edition, September 2010, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24796 (accessed 5th April 2016).
[30] On Burton, see P. Caffrey, 'Burton, Sir Frederic William (1816–1900)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4127 (accessed 5th April 2016).
[31] The 8th Earl of Radnor (1927-2008) opened Longford to the public one day a year ('The Earl of Radnor, Obituary' in *The Telegraph*, 14th August 2008, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/2560301/The-Earl-of-Radnor.html [accessed 7th March 2016]).

popular guided tours organised in conjunction with the National Gallery. Country house tourism in Britain has, since the late twentieth century, truly become a national pastime.[32] The nature of Longford's engagement in this trend – enabling public appreciation of the collection, whilst also respecting the castle's ongoing function as a private home – is very much in the spirit of its place in eighteenth-century tourist culture, charted by this thesis. The family's interest in opening Longford up to enable a greater appreciation and knowledge of the collection is matched by the 9th Earl's decision to donate his family archive to the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre. The papers are now professionally catalogued and accessible to the general public for the first time, as well as being properly conserved in a controlled environment.

The increased awareness of Longford and its collection from the tours, together with the accompanying short guidebook, has already led to a number of enquiries from scholars and members of the public wishing to trace the provenance of particular works of art, or to undertake research of different kinds.[33] This provides an exciting opportunity for individual objects to be studied in greater depth, and for connections to be made between Longford and other collections.

This thesis has thus told the story, for the first time, of how the foundations of the Longford art collection were laid through acquisition, patronage and display in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and secured by the family's interests in tradition, fashion and posterity, whilst staying true to their own independent character. The legacy of collecting, care and custodianship inaugurated during that time is alive and well today, and the collection remains a living entity, constantly developing for future generations, in line with the Bouverie family's traditional toast:

Health and Prosperity
Peace and Posterity
Long Life and Felicity
And the joys of Eternity.

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[32] See P. Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997, chapters 7 and 8.
[33] Pers. comm. W. Heap to A. Ormerod, forwarded to the author, 4th March 2016, and pers. comm. W. Harwood via the National Gallery to the author, 21st February 2016

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NG7/131/23 Letter from Philip Coxe of Bompas, Bischoff, Dodgson & Coxe to Sir Frederic Burton … 11th June 1890

NG7/131/24 Letter from Philip Coxe of Bompas, Bischoff, Dodgson & Coxe to Sir Frederic Burton … 27th June 1890

NG7/131/25 Letter from Bompas, Bischoff, Dodgson & Coxe to Sir Frederic Burton … 3rd July 1890

NG7/131/26 Copy of a letter from Bompas, Bischoff, Dodgson & Coxe to Sir Frederic Burton … 5th July 1890

NG7/131/27 Letter from Charles Cotes to Sir Frederic Burton … 7th July 1890

NG7/131/28 Letter from Bompas, Bischoff, Dodgson & Coxe to Sir Frederic Burton … 19th July 1890

NG7/131/30 Copy of a letter from Sir Frederic Burton to Charles Cotes … 16th August 1890

NG7/131/31 Letter from Charles Cotes to Sir Frederic Burton … 21st August 1890

NG7/131/32 Letter from Lord Penzance to George Ambrose … 20th August 1890

NG7/131/33 Letter from Tyler & Co on behalf of Lord Penzance to Sir Frederic Burton … 23rd August 1890

NG7/131/34 Receipt for £55,000 paid to Lord Penzance's account for the Longford Castle pictures … 28th August 1890

NG7/131/36 Telegram regarding damage to the Velazquez in transit … 29th August 1890

NG7/131/39 Telegram regarding damage to the Velazquez in transit … 29th August 1890

NG7/137/1 Letter from the Treasury to Sir Frederic Burton … 31st January 1891

NG7/137/2 Letter from Lindo S. Myers … 5th February 1891

NG7/137/3 Letter from C. L. Eastlake to Lindo S. Myers … 7th February 1891

NG7/137/4 Letter from Mr Lindo S. Myers … 18th February 1891

NG24/1890/4 Press cuttings 1890

NG24/1890/7 Press cuttings 1890

NG24/1890/10 Press cuttings 1890

NG24/1890/11 Press cuttings 1890

NG24/1890/13 Press cuttings 1890

NG24/1890/14 Press cuttings 1890

NG24/1890/15 Press cuttings 1890

NG24/1890/16 Press cuttings 1890

NG24/1890/17 Press cuttings 1890

NG29/6/5 Publications 1970-1979

NG68/13/11 Letter from Burton to [Gorlen?], 13th May 1890

NG68/13/14 Letter from Hardinge to Burton, 27th May 1890

NG68/13/15 Letter from W. Gregory to Burton, 4th June 1890

NG68/14/15 Letter from Henry Radnor to Burton, 8th August 1891

Prints and Drawings Room, British Museum

C,1.183-192 Anonymous, Ten visiting cards of English Earls and immediate family, dated by Banks between 1757-1788, especially C,1.187 'Countess of Radnor' [1778] and C,1.189 'Countess of Radnor' [1778], Banks Visiting Cards, prints, 1778

J,8.287-294, Samuel John Neele, Tickets, invitations, and a book-illustration associated with the Magdalen Hospital, Banks Admission Tickets, prints, 1772-1793

Prints and Drawings Room, Victoria and Albert Museum

E.448-1946 Design for a memorial (front and side elevations) to the Hon. Harriet Bouverie, Viscountess of Folkestone (d.1750)

4910-52 Design for a wall monument, attributed to John Michael Rysbrack

Royal Academy of Arts Archive

REY/1/4 [Sir Joshua Reynolds] Pocket book, 1760

REY/1/10 [Sir Joshua Reynolds] Pocket book, 1767

LAW/1/140, Thomas Lawrence … to [Joseph Farington], 21st October 1806

HU/1/140 [draft] [Ozias Humphry] to the [Duke of Dorset] [c.1774]

HU/2/23 [draft] [Ozias Humphry] to [unknown] [c.1774]

HU/2/26 Draft letters by Ozias Humphry, one which is to Mrs. Bouverie [1775]

HU/2/29 H. Bouverie … to Ozias Humphry, 18th December 1775

Research Archive and Library, Sir John Soane's Museum

SM_vol101/155-157 Thorpe Album, plans and partial exterior elevation

SM_vol101/158 Thorpe Album, partial elevation of the exterior of the Hall block

SM_vol101/159 Thorpe Album, unfinished partial plan of the Hall block

Royal Society of Arts Archive

AD/MA/100/12/01/01 Minutes of the Society 1754-1757

AD/MA/100/12/01/02 Minutes of the Society 1757-1758

AD/MA/100/12/01/03 Minutes of the Society 1758-1759

AD/MA/100/12/01/04 Minutes of the Society 1759-1760

AD/MA/100/12/01/05 Minutes of the Society 1760

AD/MA/100/12/01/06 Minutes of the Society 1760-1761

AD/MA/100/12/01/19 Minutes of the Society 1773-1774

AD/MA/100/12/01/20 Minutes of the Society 1774-1775

AD/MA/100/12/01/21 Minutes of the Society 1775-1776

AD/MA/100/12/01/22 Minutes of the Society 1776-1777

AD/MA/400/10/14 A3/8 Letter from 1st Viscount Folkestone and other members, order to the cashiers of the Bank of England, 8th March 1759

AD/MA/400/10/15 A3/9 Letter from 1st Viscount Folkestone and other members, order to the cashiers of the Bank of England, 8th March 1759

AD/MA/700/100/2/5 Letter from James Barry to the Society … 6th May 1801

PR/AR/116/21/49 King George and Queen Charlotte by James Barry, c.1792

PR/GE/110/1/22 Letter from Lord Folkestone … 2nd June 1755

PR/GE/110/2/68 Letter from Lord Folkestone … 9th December 1755

PR/GE/112/12/15 Minutes of various Premium Committees 1773-1774

PR/GE/112/12/16 Minutes of various Premium Committees 1774-1775

Garrard Archive, Blythe House Reading Room, Victoria and Albert Museum

AAD/1995/7/1 (VAM 1) Gentleman's Ledger 1735-1745

AAD/1995/7/2 (VAM 2) Gentleman's Ledger 1740-1748

AAD/1995/7/3 (VAM 3) Gentleman's Ledger 1746-1751

AAD/1995/7/5 (VAM 5) Gentleman's Ledger 1750-1757

AAD/1995/7/6 (VAM 6) Gentleman's Ledger 1756-1761

AAD/1995/7/7 (VAM 7) Gentleman's Ledger 1765-1776

AAD/1995/7/36 (VAM 35) Gentleman's Ledger 1808-1816

AAD/1995/7/37 (VAM 36) Gentleman's Ledger 1809-1819

AAD/1995/7/38 (VAM 33) Gentleman's Ledger 1795-1814

AAD/1995/7/39 (VAM 38) Gentleman's Ledger 1805-1819

AAD/1995/7/40 (VAM 37) Gentleman's Ledger 1811-1818

Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre

1946/2/1C/22 Rental accounts … 1777-1778

1946/3/1A/1 Inventory of plate [belonging to Jacob, 1st Viscount Folkestone] 1753

1946/3/1A/2 Inventories of plate [belonging to the Earl of Radnor] 1764-1795

1946/3/1A/3 Inventory of plate [belonging to the Earl of Radnor] 1776-1778

1946/3/1A/4 Inventories of plate [belonging to the Earl of Radnor] 1796-1827

1946/3/1A/5 Inventory of plate [belonging to William, Viscount Folkestone, later 3rd Earl of Radnor] 1816-1838

1946/3/1A/6 Inventory of plate [belonging to the Earl of Radnor] 1827

1946/3/1A/7 Inventories of plate [taken at the death of Jacob, 2nd Earl of Radnor] 1828-1858

1946/3/1A/8 Inventories of plate [belonging to Anne, Countess Dowager of Radnor] 1829-1838

1946/3/1A/9 Inventory of plate [belonging to the Earl of Radnor] 1831-1840

1946/3/1B/1 House book [of household and personal expenses of Sir Jacob Bouverie] 1723-1745

1946/3/1B/2 House book [of household and personal expenses of Sir Jacob Bouverie and William, 1st Earl of Radnor] 1745-1768

1946/3/1B/3 Account book [of personal expenditure of the 1st and 2nd Earls of Radnor] 1768-1795

1946/3/1B/4 Account book [of personal expenditure of Jacob, 2nd Earl of Radnor] 1797-1828

1946/3/1B/5 House books [containing extracts from 1946/3/1B/1-4 made by Helen Matilda, Countess of Radnor, early twentieth century] [1723-1828]

1946/3/1B/7 Invoices [for household furniture] 1872

1946/3/2A/1 Early catalogues of paintings at Longford 1748-1828

1946/3/2A/2 Catalogues of paintings at Longford Castle 1828-1849

1946/3/2A/3 Catalogue of paintings at Longford Castle 1829

1946/3/2A/4 Survey and cleaning of paintings at Longford Castle 1830-1840

1946/3/2A/5 Catalogues of paintings at Longford Castle 1849-1853

1946/3/2A/6 Picture galleries [plans of picture hangs in rooms at Longford Castle] mid-late 19th century

1946/3/2A/7 The Countess of Radnor's catalogues of pictures 1890-1928

1946/3/2A/8 Research volumes for the Countess of Radnor's catalogue of paintings [c.1890-c.1930]

1946/3/2A/9 Research volume for the Countess of Radnor's catalogue of paintings [c.1890-c.1930]

1946/3/2A/10 Correspondence & research notes for the Countess of Radnor's catalogue [1723]-1907

1946/3/2A/11 Correspondence and research notes for the Countess of Radnor's catalogue 1839-1907

1946/3/2A/12 Correspondence & research notes for the Countess of Radnor's catalogue: family portraits 1891-1987

1946/3/2A/13 Correspondence about paintings 1804-1877

1946/3/2A/14 Letter [from Robert Hodson to Edward des Bouverie] 1724

1946/3/2A/15 Correspondence 1807-1876

1946/3/2A/16 Royal Academy exhibitions 1872-1876

1946/3/2A/17 Sale catalogue [Boydell's] 1771

1946/3/2A/18 Prints [of views of Longford Castle, Coleshill House and Folkestone harbour] 1821-1844

1946/3/2A/20 Correspondence 1889-1893

1946/3/2A/21 Correspondence 1911-1930

1946/3/2A/22 Correspondence 1913

1946/3/2A/32 Inventory and valuation [of Longford Castle on the death of Jacob, 2nd Earl of Radnor] 1828

1946/3/2A/20 Correspondence 1889-1893

1946/3/2A/27 [Letters, descriptions and photographs of] The Steel Chair 1781-c1820

1946/3/2A/46 Survey of windows at Longford Castle 1748

1946/3/2B/18 Vouchers 1821-1825

1946/3/2B/19 Vouchers 1828

1946/3/2B/23 Memo of expenditure 1890

1946/3/2C/1 History of buildings 1678, 1694

1946/3/2C/1A Plan [of Longford Castle] 17th century

1946/3/2C/2 History of buildings [Longford Castle] [1678]-1692

1946/3/2C/4PC History of buildings [Longford Castle] [1678]-1898

1946/3/2C/5PC History of buildings [Longford Castle] 1766

1946/3/2C/6PC History of buildings [Longford Castle] [c.1900]

1946/3/2C/7 Notes on the history and owners of Longford, early 19th century

1946/3/2C/8 History of buildings [Longford Castle] 1867

1946/3/2C/9 History of buildings [Longford Castle] 1644-1962

1946/3/2C/10 Sculptors and masons at Longford Castle 18th century-1949

1946/3/2C/11 History of buildings [Longford Castle] 1889

1946/3/2C/12 Article on history of Longford Castle [including letter by John Cornforth] 1967-1968

1946/3/2C/14 History of buildings 18th century, 1989

1946/3/2C/18 History of buildings [c.1980]

1946/3/2C/19 Coat of arms of Sir Thomas Gorges [c.1800]

1946/3/2C/22 Chimney pieces at Church House, Salisbury 1908

1946/3/2D/1 Royal visit [of the Prince of Wales to Longford Castle] 1785

1946/3/2E/1 Designs for internal fittings at Longford Castle … late 18th century

1946/3/2E/2 Designs for building work at Longford Castle 1790s-1800s

1946/3/2E/3 Bills and accounts 1792-1797

1946/3/2E/4 Vouchers 1792, 1797

1946/3/2E/5 Summaries of bills 1792-1811

1946/3/2E/6 Specification 1797

1946/3/2E/10 Bills and accounts 1801-1807

1946/3/2E/11 Plans 1802

1946/3/2E/11A Plans [c.1802]

1946/3/2E/12 Plans 1802

1946/3/2E/13MS Plans 1802-1804

1946/3/2E/14 Plans [c.1802], 1812

1946/3/2E/17 Specifications for building work at Longford Castle 1805-1815

1946/3/2E/18 Plans 1808, [c.1810]

1946/3/2E/19 Plans 1808

1946/3/2E/20 Bills and accounts 1809-1812

1946/3/2E/25 Correspondence 1813-1815

1946/3/2E/26 Bills and accounts 1813-1817

1946/3/2E/27 Plans 1816, 1875

1946/3/2E/28 Plan 1828

1946/3/2E/29 Plans [c.1830]

1946/3/2E/31 Correspondence 1831-1832

1946/3/2E/32 Plans 1831-1832

1946/3/2E/38 Specifications, correspondence and accounts for alterations to Longford castle 1871-1878

1946/3/2E/40MS Plans [c.1872]

1946/3/2E/41H Plan 1856 [c.1872]

1946/3/2E/41PC Plans [c.1872]

1946/3/2E/42PC Plans 1872

1946/3/2E/50 Electric lighting schemes 1889-1913

1946/3/2E/51 Plans [c.1895]

1946/3/2E/53 Plans [c.1900]

1946/3/2E/57 Longford Castle: proposed new gallery 1926-1927

1946/3/2E/58 Plans 1927

1946/3/2G/2 Alterations to the garden and grounds [c.1760]-1814

1946/3/2G/5 Alterations to the garden and grounds 1831-1832

1946/3/2G/11H Plans … [c.1852], c1900

1946/3/2G/12H Plan 1852

1946/3/2J/1 Visitor book 1896-1900

1946/3/3/1PC History of buildings 1735, [c.1750]

1946/3/3/2 Correspondence 1814

1946/3/3/3 Correspondence 1814-1815

1946/3/3/5 Inventory [c.1830]

1946/3/4A/1 Auction catalogue 1743-1744

1946/3/4A/2 Description of the antiquities and curiosities at Wilton House 1768, 1774

1946/3/4A/3 Catalogue of pictures & letter 1791

1946/3/4A/4 Auction catalogues … 1809

1946/3/4A/5 List of pictures at Grosvenor Street 1820

1946/3/4A/6 52 Lower Grosvenor Street; inventory of the contents 1828

1946/3/4A/9 Cellar accounts for London houses 1768-1777

1946/3/4A/11 Wine cellar 1778-1828

1946/3/4A/12 Furniture account book 1871-1872

1946/3/4E/1 52 Lower Grosvenor Street: new stables & coach house 1826

1946/3/4E/3 Horse Heath House [drawings of chimneypieces] 1792

1946/3/4E/4 [Drawing of door in] St James Square [c.1800]

1946/3/4E/8 Drawings [of urns on pedestals by William Kent] [c.1740]

1946/4/1A/1 Volume of des Bouverie family history [c.1300-c.1850]

1946/4/1A/13 Act of Parliament for change of name [1737]

1946/4/1B/1 Notebook of Jacob, 1st Viscount Folkestone … 1730s

1946/4/1B/2 Correspondence about a marriage settlement and legacies 1734-1759

1946/4/1B/3 Notebook of Rebecca, Viscountess Folkestone … 1751-1763

1946/4/1B/4 Extract from a Peerage [c.1770]

1946/4/1D/2 Account book 1736-1760

1946/4/1E/2 Extract of Will of Sir Christopher des Bouverie … 1730-1735

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1946/4/1D/6 Account of real estate [c.1734]

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1946/4/1F/102 Appointment as Deputy Lieutenant of Kent 1697

1946/4/1H/2 Passport & portefeuille 1700-1713

1946/4/1H/3 John Bouverie …1991-1994

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1946/4/2A/1 Pedigrees [1560s-c.1830]

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1946/4/2A/11 Plans [c.1890]

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1946/4/2B/1 Volume of family history documents 1623-1834

1946/4/2B/3 Letter [from Lord Rockingham to the 1st Earl of Radnor] 18th August 1765

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1946/4/2B/5 Letter from Miss Harriet Bouverie 1772

1946/4/2B/6 Correspondence 1774-1830

1946/4/2B/9 Letter [from Anne, Countess of Radnor to her daughter Mary Anne] 1783

1946/4/2B/10 Correspondence 1787-1797

1946/4/2B/12 Poem commemorating Lady Mary Ann Pleydell-Bouverie 1793

1946/4/2B/14 Correspondence of Jacob, 2nd Earl of Radnor: George Washington's letter 1797

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1946/4/2B/19 Correspondence 1804-1812

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1946/4/2B/23 Correspondence 1805-1811

1946/4/2B/24 Correspondence 1806-1809

1946/4/2B/26 Correspondence … 1806-1811

1946/4/2B/28 Correspondence 1807-1808

1946/4/2B/30 Correspondence 1807-1853

1946/4/2B/31 Correspondence 1808-1923

1946/4/2B/36 Correspondence … 1826-1843

1946/4/2B/37 Correspondence 1828-1829

1946/4/2B/52 Correspondence 1855-1869

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1946/4/2B/81 Correspondence [1747-1794]

1946/4/2C/1 Commonplace book of Jacob, 2nd Earl 1761-1806

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1946/4/2C/22 Poetry by Jacob, 2nd Earl of Radnor, late 18th century

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1946/4/2D/4 Account books 1768-1828

1946/4/2D/8 Accounts 1817-1827

1946/4/2D/9 Accounts 1822

1946/4/2D/13 Account book 1860-1882

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1946/4/2K/12A Guides to Salisbury … 1771, 1817

1946/4/2K/13 Plan and elevation of Staircase at Chateau de Benouville

1946/4/2K/19 Anne, Countess of Radnor [c.1790]

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Appendix A: Timeline of Key Biographical Events

Jacob Bouverie, 1st Viscount Folkestone (1694-1761)

1709	Admitted to the Middle Temple
1711	Matriculated at Christchurch College, Oxford
1721	Travelled to the Netherlands and northern France
1722	Inherited the honour and lordship of Folkestone and Terlingham, Kent
1723	Married his first wife, Mary Clarke ([?]-1739), daughter of Bartholomew Clarke (dates unknown) of Delapre Abbey, Northamptonshire
1736	Act of Parliament to change family name from Des Bouverie to Bouverie
1736	Created third baronet (thereafter known as Sir Jacob Bouverie) succeeding his elder brother, Sir Edward Des Bouverie (1688-1736), and inherited Longford Castle
1737	Became a trustee of the Georgia Society[1]
1738	Became a common councillor of the Georgia Society
1741	Sent to Parliament as MP for Salisbury
1741	Married his second wife, Elizabeth Marsham (1711-1782), daughter of Robert Marsham, 1st Baron Romney (1685-1724)
1743	Appointed Recorder (judicial officer) of Salisbury
1745	Became a guardian of the Foundling Hospital,

[1] The Georgia Society was a group of individuals who helped establish the American colony of Georgia (A. A. Hanham, 'Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America (*act.* 1732–1752)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/95206 [accessed 10th March 2015]).

	London[2]
1747	Created Baron Longford and Viscount Folkestone
1747	Ceased sitting as MP for Salisbury
1750	Official appointment as Deputy Lieutenant of Wiltshire
1754	Attended the first meeting of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce at Rawthmell's Coffee House, Covent Garden, London on 22nd March alongside William Shipley (1715-1803), Robert Marsham, 2nd Baron Romney (1712-1794) and others[3]
1755	Elected first President of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce on 5th February (a position held until his death)[4]

<u>William Bouverie, 1st Earl of Radnor (1725-1776)</u>

1747	Became MP for Salisbury
1748	Married his first wife, Harriot Pleydell (1723-1750), daughter of Sir Mark Stuart Pleydell (c.1693-1768) of Coleshill, Berkshire; family name changed to Pleydell-Bouverie
1750	Appointed a Deputy Lieutenant of Wiltshire
1751	Married his second wife, Rebecca Alleyne (1725-1764), daughter of John Alleyne (dates unknown)

[2] T. Murdoch and R. Vigne, *The French Hospital in England: Its Huguenot History and Collections*, Cambridge: John Adamson, p. 91
[3] H. Trueman Wood, *A History of the Royal Society of Arts*, London: John Murray, 1913, pp. 11-12
[4] Trueman Wood, *History of the Royal Society of Arts*, p. 17

1756	Elected as a member of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, after being proposed by his father
1758	Appointed a Deputy Lieutenant of Berkshire
1761	Succeeded his father as Viscount Folkestone, and moved from the House of Commons to the House of Lords
1761	Appointed Recorder of Salisbury
1765	Married his third wife, Anne Hales, Dowager Countess of Feversham (1736-1795), wife of Anthony Duncombe, 1st Baron Feversham (c.1695-1763)
1765	Created Earl of Radnor
1766	Became governor of the Salisbury Infirmary, Salisbury[5]
1767	Elected as a Fellow of the Royal Society on 17th December, after being proposed by Dr Samuel Glasse (1734-1812), Wiltshire theologian and tutor to the 1st Earl of Radnor's children[6]
1768	Became entitled to use double-headed eagle as his coat of arms, with family motto 'Patria Cara Carior Libertas' Became a governor of the Foundling Hospital
1770	Elected director of the French Hospital, London[7]
1771	Succeeded his brother-in-law, Anthony Ashley Cooper, 4th Earl of Shaftesbury (1711-1771),

[5] Salisbury Infirmary, *Salisbury 200: The Bi-Centenary of Salisbury Infirmary 1766-1966*, Salisbury: Salisbury General Hospital, 1967, p. 157
[6] Royal Society Archives GB 117, JBO/26/119 Minutes of a meeting of the Society, 17th December 1767, https://collections.royalsociety.org/DServe.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=8&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27radnor%27%29 (accessed 2nd June 2014)
[7] The National Archives (hereafter TNA) Huguenot Library H/C6/9 Note of Lord Radnor's election as Director 1770

	to become governor of the Levant Company
1771	Gave £100 on 10th April to the French Hospital on the occasion of his acceptance of its governorship[8]
1773	Elected a Vice-President of the Society of Arts

Jacob Pleydell-Bouverie, 2nd Earl of Radnor (1749-1828)

1767	Signed Admissions Register for University College, Oxford on 7th July[9]
1770	Received a Bachelor of Arts degree from University College, Oxford
1771	Returned to the House of Commons for Salisbury
1773	Received a Master of Arts degree from University College, Oxford
1776	Succeeded his father as Earl of Radnor upon his father's death
1776	Appointed Recorder of Salisbury
1777	Married Anne Duncombe (1759-1829), daughter of Anthony Duncombe, 1st Baron Feversham and Anne Hales (1736-1795), the third wife of the 1st Earl of Radnor
1779	Made a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries
1779	Made a Captain in the Northamptonshire Regiment of Militia
1785	Received the Prince of Wales (later King George IV [1762-1830]) at Longford on 6th July[10]

[8] TNA Huguenot Library H/A1/1 Livre Des Déliberations de la Corporation Françoise
[9] Pers. comm. R. Darwall-Smith to the author, 30th June 2014

1785	Donated land for a Guildhall after the fire at the Salisbury Town House
1789	Elected director of the French Hospital on 28th January; a fortnight later, declared governor[11]
1789	Accepted the governorship of the French Hospital on 8th April[12]
1789	Travelled to France
1791	Appointed Lord Lieutenant of Berkshire[13] and Keeper of the Rolls of Berkshire[14]
1795	Made a Fellow of the Royal Society
1797-8	Journeyed to St. Petersburg, via Hamburg, Hanover, Brunswick, Berlin, Dresden, Stockholm and Copenhagen
1799	Appointed High Steward of Wallingford, an honorary civic title
1802	Appointed a Deputy Lieutenant of Kent

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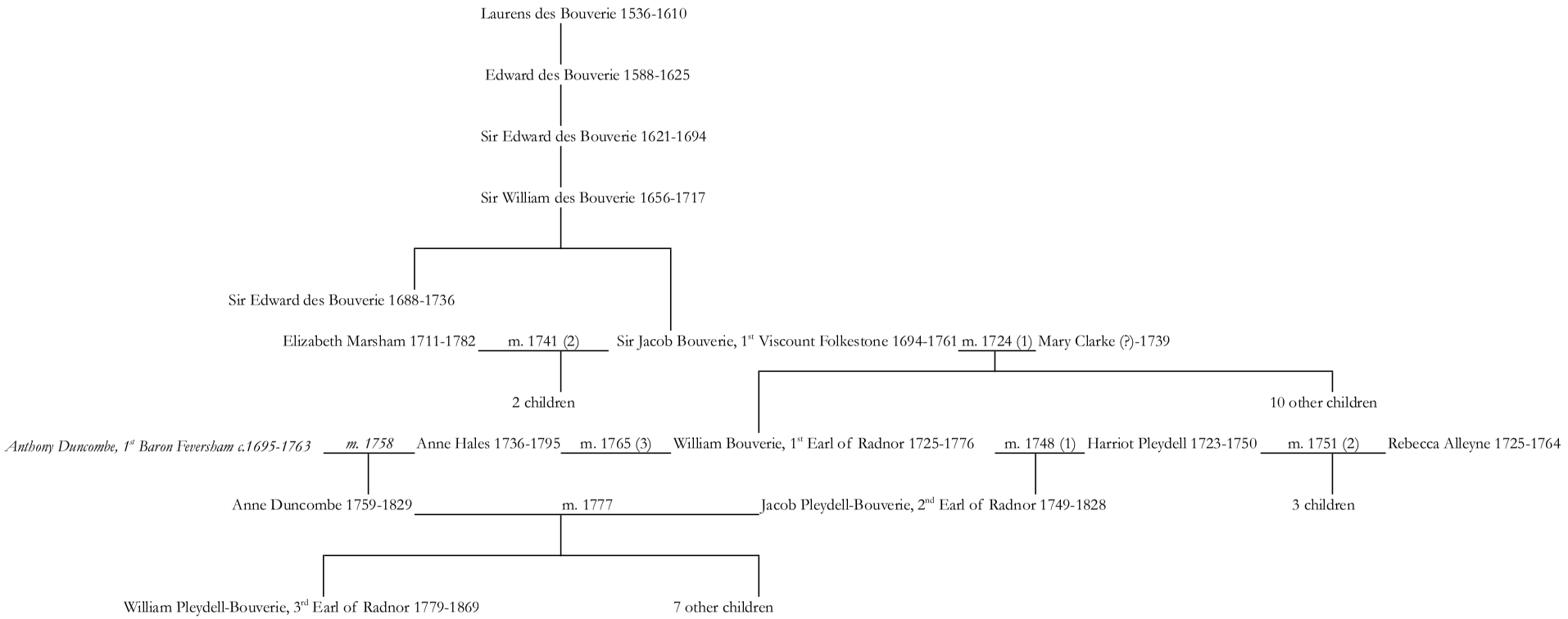
[10] Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre (hereafter WSHC) 1946/3/2D/1 Royal visit [of the Prince of Wales to Longford Castle] 1785
[11] TNA Huguenot Library H/A1/2 Livre des Déliberations de la Corporation Francoise
[12] TNA Huguenot Library H/A1/2
[13] WSHC 1946/4/2F/2/4 Royal patent 1791
[14] WSHC 1946/4/2F/2/3 Royal patent 1791

Appendix B: Family Tree



Appendix C: Art-Related Expenditure transcribed from Longford Castle Account Books 1723-1828

All information taken from the following sources:

Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre (hereafter WSHC) 1946/3/1B/1 House book [of household and personal expenses of Sir Jacob Bouverie] 1723-1745

WSHC 1946/3/1B/2 House book [of household and personal expenses of Sir Jacob Bouverie and William, 1st Earl of Radnor] 1745-1768

WSHC 1946/3/1B/3 Account book [of personal expenditure of the 1st and 2nd Earls of Radnor] 1768-1795

WSHC 1946/3/1B/4 Account book [of personal expenditure of Jacob, 2nd Earl of Radnor] 1797-1828

Date	Description of item (transcribed from the original)	Price (£, s, d)
Jacob Bouverie, 1st Viscount Folkestone		
1723		
16th December	For two Smirna & one Turkey Carpet	9.9.0
19th December	Mr. Hodson ye. Cabinet-maker a bill for 2 Mohogeny Tables	6.0.0
1724		
1st January	Mr. Else on Garlick-hill for a large Glass Sconce } Receipt for both on ye same bill	7.7.0
1st January	Do. for a Card-Table } Receipt for both on ye same bill	3.0.0
9th January	Pay'd for an Indian Break-fast Table	2.5.0

19th February	Lea a Silver=Smith in Hemmings=Rowe for 2 Sauce=boats	14.15.0
2nd April	To Mr. Else sconce=maker for a pair of sconces Do. a bill	6.6.0 0.14.0
21st April	~~Mr. Parker for severall pieces of Household=goods, wch. are intended for a Country=house~~	34.15.0
6th November	Molly for her picture, given Mr. Dahl in hand	10.10.0
7th November	Mr. Hodson ye. Cabinet=maker for a compting=Bureau	25.0.0
24th November	Mr Dahl in hand for my picture	10.10.0
25th November	For a large Chimney glass (being for ye. Country)	6.7.6
1725		
23rd January	A Carpet (Smirna)	2.15.0
27th January	Mr. Dahl for two pictures (N.B. He had 20 guineas in hand)	42.0.0
27th January	D[itt]o for ye. frames	5.5.0
28th January	Parker (at ye. sale) for a large glass sconce	11.11.0
16th June	Lady Palmer for Glass sconces jelly glasses &c	3.15.0
2nd July	Taylor ye. Painter for painting ye. Breakfast room	3.19.6
1726		
12th January	Else ye. Sconce=maker a bill	0.14.0
27th April	A Persian Carpet	1.15.0
21st May	Mr. Hodson ye. Cabinet=maker a bill	14.10.0
30th December	Mr. Hodson ye. Cabinet=maker a bill	4.18.0
1727		
7th February	Mr. Zinke for my picture in enamail	15.15.0
7th February	Mr. Hohlfeld for setting of my picture (£2- being allow'd for ye. old gold)	2.19.6
16th February	Mr. Horsnaile a Stone=cutter near St. Andrews	17.16.6

	Church for a chimney=piece &c	
9th March	Mr. Hodson ye. Cabinet=maker a bill	4.19.0
18th March	For a small tapestry screen	2.12.6
1728		
20th February	Mr. Lea ye. Silversmith for a dish=stand &c	7.18.6
26th April	For six french seats of chairs at 10s:6d & for Worsted £1:1:0	4.4.0
3rd May	Mr. Hodson ye. Cabinet=maker a bill	3.4.0
1st August	A picture £4:4:0 & for guilding two picture frames £1:11:6	5.15.6
15th November	Repay'd Mr. Clarke Mr. Rieusset's bill for a billiard table &c	45.0.0
12th December	Mr. Hodson ye. Cabinet=maker a bill for 12 hall=chairs a Canthorn &c	29.9.0
1729		
5th December	Mr. Gresha for cleaning & repairing three pictures	5.5.0
5th December	Mr. Bridgwater for three picture=frames	5.10.0
23rd December	Pay'd Capt. Small for a straw Indian screen	52.10.0
1730		
15th January	Mr. Hodson ye. Cabinet=maker a bill	2.12.6
6th March	Mr. Gresha for cleaning & repairing two pictures	3.13.6
6th March	Mr. Bridgwater for a large gold frame £3 [?] for a black & gold one [?]	3.10.0
11th November	Mr. Seehausen in Covent=garden for ye. frame of a side=bord table	5.15.0
12th November	Mr. Pond in Covent=Garden for cleaning a picture	2.2.0
1731		

21st February	Mr. [Haringk?] a jeweller a bill for setting of diamonds	3.15.0
1732		
6th April	Mr. Godfrey the Silver=Smith a bill	67.4.0
23rd June	Mr. Friend for a marble=slab for a side=bord table at 5s pr foot	4.0.0
22nd July	Mr. Wright the Cabinet=maker for the frame of a side=board table	1.7.0
9th December	Mr. Cutler for a carpet	5.13.0
9th December	Mr. Hargingk for new setting a ring wtch 3s: 6d allow'd for ye. old hoop	0.16.6
1733		
20th January	Mr. Philips the Painter for the picture of my family	25.4.0
15th February	Mrs. Hylton for colouring the Harlot's Progress	1.10.0
22nd March	Mr [Laws?] for a scarlet velvet furniture embroider'd wth gold, wch £2:2s:0d allow'd for my old one, & I had cases to ye. furniture into ye. bargain	16.16.0
29th March	Mr. Harningk a bill for setting some diamonds	7.2.0
13th April	Mrs. Hilton for Mr. Hogarth's conversation=print & colouring it	0.13.0
27th April	Mr. Mason the picture=frame=maker a bill	6.2.0
1734		
3rd January	Mr. Godfrey the Goldsmith a bill	30.0.0
15th April	Mr. Philips the Painter for mine & my Wife's picture £12:12:0 & ye. two frames £6:6:0	18.18.0
28th November	Mr. Grinday the Chair=maker a bill	29.8.0
1735		

26th November	Mr. Mason the Picture=frame=maker a bill	3.13.0
1736		
9th January	Mr. Haninghk the Jewller for setting a girdle=buckle	2.12.6
19th March	Mr. Pyke for a gold watch (valued by him at £33:12:0) wth. My old one in exchange	20.0.0
16th April	For the four seasons after Rosalba framed & in Colours	1.10.0
17th April	Mr. Pyke a bill for a Topaz, gold chain &c	8.17.0
9th May	Mr. Mason the Picture=frame-maker a bill	4.13.6
11th May	Mr. [Chirac?] the Jeweller a bill	3.13.6
16th November	[Repay'd Mr. Younge for] what He pay'd Mr. Pond for a picture of Philip ye 2d.	21.0.0
1737		
26th February	Mr. Godfrey the Goldsmith a bill for four scallop shells & some trifles	8.18.0
19th March	Mr. Pennee at Mr. Bolneys for 3 pictures in miniature £4:14:6, & for the frames & glasses 15	5.9.6
26th March	Pay'd for a Turkey-Carpet	16.16.0
22nd April	Mr. Pond for a Picture of Ld. Strafford & his Secretary £10:10:0 & Carriage [of?]	10.19.0
12th September	Mr. Kent for painting ye. Chappell £9:10:0 d[itt]o ye. Clock gilt £2	11.10.0
17th October	Mr. White-head Mr. Mansfield the [stucco?]-mans. foreman at bill Payed Mr. Whitehead for a couple of Bustos in stucco	21.9.6 3.3.0
3rd November	Mr. Macy a bill for Portland-stone for ye. stair-case, for firestone, &c	4.1.0
19th November	Mr. Kent for painting & guilding ye. Parlour £38 -, varnishing ye. three Pictures 5, painting ye.	38.10.0

	Posts [?] – NB He says new painting y. Parlour now might come to £4 or £5-, if it was quite plain, it would not come to above £1:10:0, or £1:15:0-	
19th December	Mr. Hallet in Newport-Street for 18 chairs at £2:2:0 each	37.16.0
23rd December	Mr. Goodisen Cabinet-maker a bill wth. some old goods exchanged	148.0.0
1738		
26th January	Mr. Amiconi for four large Pictures & twelve small ones	250.0.0
4th February	Mr. Bradshaw for a tapestry-Carpet	26.5.0
6th March	Mr. Mason Picture-frame maker a bill	2.2.0
20th April	Paid at Hayes sale for a Landscape by Gaspar Poussin £16:16:0 a D[itt]o £12:-, ye. holy Family by Ricci £13:13:-, a grotto & [agate?] £20:7:6	62.16.6
21st April	Pay'd Mr. Rysbrack for a little picture of ye. holy family sayed to be Carlo Morats	8.8.0
22nd April	Mr. Killpin the Upholsterer a bill	219.15.0
27th April	Pay'd Mr. Barrett for a Copy of Reubens's Family	20.0.0
28th April	Mr. Rysbrack a bill for two chimney-pieces &c.	57.14.0
5th May	Payed at Paris's sale for ye. Picture of St. Sebastian design'd by Michael Angelo, & painted by Sebastian del Piombo £86.-, a Landskip of Old Patells £17-1-0, two Conversations of Paterres £8:10:0, three Pieces of Van Heysells's insects £4:4:0, & two Pictures of S. Peeters's £1:17:0	117.12.0
8th June	Pay'd Mr. Kent for additionall guilding & painting the Parlour	9.9.0
14th July	By payed Mr. Kent the Painter on account	40.0.0
17th August	Mr. Devall the stone-cutter for a slab for a side-board table at Longford	15.4.0

29th August	Mr. Arnold a bill for cleaning & mending Pictures & for stretching frames	3.6.0
14th September	Mr. Wickes the Goldsmith a bill	27.9.0
20th September	Pay'd Mr. Kent the Painter 29th last month on acct but not entered till now	30.0
16th October	Mr. Kent ye. Painter wth. £40 & £30 – pay'd on acct. in full for a bill of £110:7:7	40.7.6
14th December	Mr. Hallet the Cabinet-maker a bill	42.0.0
1739		
12th January	Mr. Price for six paines of glass stained wth. coats of arms	12.12.0
[2nd?] March	By paid at Beauvais's sale for a snuff box & silver counter-dish £1:17:0, 2 ivory baskets £3:3:0, 2 marble tables £5, 1 d[itt]o £7- 2 Groupes of Lions bronze £13:13:0, 2 horses bronze £4:4:-	34.17.0
23rd March	Mr. Harningk a bill about my Wifes Ear=rings (NB the bill in my Buroe)	37.10.0
25th March	Nymphs Sleeping by Blanchard a picture bought at Paris's sale	72.0.0
7th April	Mr. Chisholm picture-frame maker in Newport-Street a bill	14.4.6
10th April	Mr. Wooton for a couple of pictures (Landscapes)	52.10.0
8th May	Bought at Hay's sale a brass figure of St. Sebastian £5:7:6, d[itt]o of a fawn carrying a goat £14:14:0, & sold a picture for £7:10:6	12.11.0
11th May	Mr. Kilpin the Upholsterer a bill	29.5.0
12th May	By pay'd Mr. Goodison the Cabinet-maker a bill	21.11.6
14th May	Greenday the Chair-maker a bill with an allowance of £8:8 for a side-bord table He had from Red-Lyon Street	68.0.0
15th May	Mr. Smagge the Cabinet-maker a bill for 9 ½ yds	1.5.0

	of crimson line used at Longford	
16th May	Mr. Haningk for nw setting my ring	1.1.0
19th May	Mr. Wickes the Goldsmith a bill	6.6.0
21st May	Mr. Hallet the Chair-maker a bill	35.12.0
21st May	Mr. Fordham at Carpenters=Hall a bill for four musquette or Smirna carpets chiefly at 7s pr [pike?] or ¾ of a yard square	19.10.0
23rd August	Mr. Kent a bill for painting at Burford-Church, & for guilding glass frames tables & picture frames & for varnishing pictures	24.10.0
30th August	Mr. [Soffe?] the Carpenter a bill for the Chappell-tables in full to this day	10.12.0
9th November	Mr. Cartwright the Stone-cutter a bill for additional marble to the chimneys &c.	53.0.0
27th November	Mr. Rysbrack money on acct. June 7 1739	150.0.0
27th November	Mr. Hoare's bill for two Landskips of Claude Loraine's £417:00:9, charges in France £4:17:9 charges at ye Custom-house here £5:19:0	427.17.6
19th December	Mr. Rysbrack more on account	200.0.0
1740		
1st February	Mr. Pyke the Watch=maker a bill	19.0.6
4th February	Mr. Wickes the Goldsmith a bill wherein there is £65:0:6 for mourning rings	80.8.0
18th February	Mr. Pyke for a spring=clock & Pedestall	17.17.0
1st March	Bought at Norton's sale a Picture of the holy family done by the School of Andrea del Sarto after a Picture of his at Florence	6.6.0
10th March	Bought at Ld. Halifax's sale, three chairs £2:13:0, a carpet £14, two pictures of Gioseppe Chiari's £86:2:0, a Madonna of Carlo Morat's £84-, two casts of the Medici Vases £52:10:0, the Rape by Nessus the Centaur £26:5:0, & two River Gods	301.4.0

	£35:14:0	
17th March	Mr. Carter at Hyde-Park Corner for a chimney-piece £70:10:0 […?]	71.0.0
18th March	Mr. Desclaux for 83 yards of green damask at 12 for Longford gallery	49.16.0
5th April	Mr. Kilpin the Upholsterer a bill	46.4.0
5th April	Mr. Greenday the Chair-maker a bill (Repayed Mr. Kilpin)	4.10.0
15th April	Mr. Desclaux for 200 more yards of green damask… for Longford gallery	120.0.0
19th April	Mr. Leemin in St. Martin's Lane a bill for Terms, Pedestalls, &c	22.18.6
22nd April	Ld. Burlington a year's ground rent to Lady Day last (£1:10:0 for taxes deducted)	18.10.0
23rd April	Mr. Vanloo ye. 2d. payment for 3 pictures – d[itt]o for a [?]	42.0.0
7th May	Mr. Wickes the Goldsmith a bill for two Turennes & soop-soons	109.0.0
7th May	Mr. Rysbrack wth £150- on acct. 7th June, £200 do. 19th Decr, in full for a bill of £436:15:0	86.15.0
3rd October	Mr. Ellesmere for some carving to the sides of ye gallery-chimney	2.10.0
21st November	Mr. Goodison a bill for furniture at Longford	413.0.0
22nd November	Mr. Chisholm the Picture-frame-maker a bill	35.16.6
22nd November	Payed Mr. Shirley for five Dresden China snuff boxes	12.15.0
24th November	Mr. Collihou a bill for cleaning pictures	2.6.0
24th November	Mr. Greffier a bill for d[itt]o [cleaning pictures]	2.2.0
28th November	Mr. Kilpin the Upholsterer a bill, wherein there is £125.- for the Gallery's, £42 for the furniture of the Chappell at Longford, the rest for ye. pew &c in Conduit-Street Chappell	179.0.0
28th November	Mr. Chevenix for setting a snuff=box, gold £4:4:9	6.16.6

	fashion £2:12:6	
1741		
10th January	Mr. Goodchild for two dutch damask Table-cloths & 24 napkins	27.18.6
10th March	Pd for nine dishes & two dozen of Plates of the Dresden china	44.2.0
10th March	Pd. for Crozat's collection of Prints £13:13:0, two boys playing wth a lyon in ivory by [?] £5:10:0, a view of Fontainbleau by Old Patell £33:1:^	52.4.6
21st March	Pay'd Mr. Heydegger for a set of Dresden china for a tea-table	26.5.0
30th March	Repayed Mrs. [Lillie?] for five dozen of [soup?]=plates	5.1.6
8th April	Mr. Greffier a bill for cleaning two pictures	3.3.0
10th September	Mr. Kent the Painter a bill & He allowed me [?] for an old frontispiece	28.13.0
20th November	Payed Mr. Hoare for two Pictures of Imperiali £151:10:0, charges casing d[itt]o £3:7:0, for a picture of Europa £144:!5:8, casing d[itt]o £3:18:0	303.10.8
20th November	Payed Mr. Hoare charges on the Europa	7.19.3
20th November	Payed Mr. Hoare for 2 Pictures of Nicola Poussin – 481:5:0 Paris's bills of charges at Paris 15:9:0 Paris for buying them given him £21:0:0 from Paris to London, duty &c £15:11:6	533.5.6
20th November	Payed Mr. Hoare Claude Auberts bill, being money remitted to Rome for a Guercino	146.12.0
26th November	Cheere the statuary on acct. of Chimney-pieces	200.0.0
28th November	Bradshaw the Upholsterer a bill for the furniture of my Chamber at Longford	144.15.0
28th November	Chisholm the Picture-frame-maker a bill	9.11.0
1st December	Repayed Mr. Shirley for a Dresden china snuff-box	5.5.6

2nd December	Mr. Goodison Cabinet-maker a bill to ye. of Septr. last	71.11.0
1742		
25th January	Gave Whitehead for drawing designs for ye. Gallery at Longford	3.3.0
1st March	Mr. Vanloo the first payment for a half length picture	15.15.0
2nd April	Collivoe a bill for cleaning pictures, ye. Europa by Romanelli, & Guido £6:6:0, ye. two Poussins £21	27.6.0
2nd April	Mr. Lambert ye. Painter for 2 Landscapes £42:0:0, a case	42.6.0
5th April	Mr. Cheere on acct. of chimney-pieces &c	100.0.0
6th April	Mr. Cheere more on acct. (NB £400 in all)	100.0.0
21st May	Goodison the Cabinet-maker a bill to this day	100.0.0
22nd May	Carter the stone-cutter for two alabaster-tables	12.12.0
26th May	Mr. Wickes ye Silver-smith a bill pd. by old plate &c £111:8:0	2.8.0
31st May	Gave Mr. Morris for drawing a design of ye. building at Longford	10.10.0
3rd August	Vanloo 2d. paymt. in full for [?] picture	16.1.0
1st October	Mr. Price the Carpenter wth. £63 pd. in Octr. last £100 – paid in Aprill last, in full for a bill of £197:7:6 about altering ye hall &c & attendances at Longford	34.7.6
13th October	Earlsman a bill for ye. carving over ye. green damask bedchamber doors	8.4.0
20th October	Mr. Cartwright with £200 paid him 10th Aprill last in full for ye. stuccoe-work of ye. hall stair-cases &c, & for cielings &c, & I am to pay him still every thing for ye. building & for the servants hall stair-case NB The stair-case when finished I am to pay for the stuccoe only at so much pyd.; He charged me in this bill 1:6 pyd. & I deducted a 1d	126.0.0

	pyd. by 2 as to this Stair-case being entirely circular NB ye. Bill is £326:0:0	
21st October	Mr. Privett a bill for ye. Obelisk £29:13:10, d[itt]o for ye. Pedestall £2:15:2 NB He charges ye. plain work at 8d, moulded at 11d (running measure) & the block stones (cublicall) at 10d a foot & He sets the stone	32.9.0
4th November	Mr. Kent the Painter a bill	16.17.6
22nd November	Mr. [Horo's?] bill from Leghorn for ye. Bustos	25.11.4
22nd November	Duty & charges on ye. Guercino	7.8.0
22nd November	D[itt]o on ye. [two?] Imperialis & statues	22.4.0
22nd November	Mr. Claude Auberts bill for 2 pieces of damask containing […]	160.3.9
17th December	Mr. Bradshaw the Upholsterer a bill for a great-chair at Longford	12.8.0
18th December	Cox the Upholsterer in Covent-Garden for a Carpet	2.7.6
1743		
14th January	Mr. [Hurt?] for guilding a small silver=dish	1.12.0
23rd February	Pyke the Watchmaker a bill	1.1.0
10th March	Mr. Fielding for an India-Chest	15.15.0
11th March	For an India chest £7:7:0, other things at Bridgman's sale £8:3:0	15.10.0
31st March	Mr. Philips on acct. of green flowered velvet for Longford agreed for at £1:4:0 pyd.	150.0.0
8th April	Mr. Chere wth. £400 payed before, in full for a bill of £805:10:0 for chimney-pieces & tops &c. 405:10:0 Linnell for packing-cases for ye. tops 10:10:0 D[itt]o for painting the eight tops twice in nut oyl 6:0:0	422.0.0
14th April	Cheere at Hyde-Park-Corner for 3 plaister Bustos bronz'd & cases	3.10.6

28th May	Mr. Hallett the Cabinet-maker on acct.	15.15.0
28th May	Mr. Kilpin the Upholsterer on acct.	42.0.0
28th May	Mr. Goodison the Cabinet-maker on acct.	90.0.0
28th June	Mr. Wickes the Goldsmith a bill	39.10.0
28th June	Lambert for ye Picture of Longford £26:5:0, a Landscape £21 Cases 13:6 [8d?]	48.0.6
28th June	Collivoe for cleaning Pictures	27.18.0
8th September	Mr. Collivoe a bill for cleaning pictures at £1:1:0	34.8.0
16th July	Kent the Painter	53.7.0
8th September	Mr. Collivoe a bill for cleaning pictures at £1:1:0 p day &c	34.8.0
6th December	Mr. Goodison more on acct. (NB payed him d[itt]o 28th May last £90)	100.0.0
15th December	Mr. Goodison wth £90 pd. him on acct. 28th May £100 d[itt]o 6th [?] in full for a bill of £942:5:0	152.5.0
20th December	Mr. Cheere the stonecutter a bill for altering ye. drawing-room chimney	27.1.0
1744		
3rd January	Mr. Kilpin ye. remainder of his bill (NB pd. 28th May £42 on acct)	240.0.0
5th January	Mr. Kilpin on acct. of work done	10.0.0
12th January	Linnell the Carver a bill about taking down &c ye. drawing-room chimney top-piece	1.11.6
2nd March	Bought at Mr. Bragge's sale ye. Arch Duke Leopold's Cabinet of Flemish pictures by Old Frank £50- Men at Bowls by David Teniers £40:8:6, a view of ye. City of Mosul wth. a Turkish Caravann by Peeters £5-, Figures Scating by Old Brueghell £12:12:9 Gypsies & its companion two Pictures by Callot £7:12:6, the Inside of a Church by Van Cleve £1:5:0, a Bronze of a Bacchus by M. Angelo, & of Antinous its	135.18.0

	Companion (Sr. Andrew Fontaine reckons them done by Soldani) £12-, a Bronze of a Groupe of two young Sracchus's & a Satyr £7 – in all	
17th March	Collivoe a bill for a Picture of flowers by Velvet Brueghell £3:13:6 & for cleaning £4:4:0	7.17.6
3rd April	Mr. Pond a bill for 2 Vol: of Poussin's Prints £26:5:0 d[itt]o 4 Watteau £26:5:0, d[itt]o Wouvermans £9:13:6	61.13.6
23rd July	Pay'd Mr. Heath for 2 pictures of Van Uden as they cost him	19.19.0
24th July	Wickes ye. Goldsmith ye. ballce. of an acct. between us	12.11.0
26th July	Mr. Martin for Lady Catherine Noel, for a picture of ye Jesuits Church at Antwerp	21.0.0
1745		
5th January	Mr. Kilpin ye. Upholsterer a bill (wth. £10 of [Jan 4?] last & some things He sold)	89.14.6
22nd February	Mr. Goodison ye. Cabinet-maker a bill & He is to put a spring to the chimney-[blind?]	21.3.6
10th April	Mr. Smith of Venice his bill for ye. prime cost of a landskip of Zucarelli	15.18.11
13th April	Wickes the Goldsmith a bill	166.8.0
[c.1745]	Layed out on the Gallery at Longford	
	For plaining the Gallery Architrave round the doors ornaments to the Chimney &c at least	25.0.0
	Painting the Gallery at least	10.0.0
	The stucco of the Ceiling	30.0.0
	The Chimney-Piece & Billy's busto	266.15.0
	Two Bustos & Pedestalls (the marble of the Pedestalls given me)	113.0.0
	Three Marble ~~Tables~~ Slabs	15.0.0
	Two Casts of the Medici-Vases	52.10.0

	The Rape by the Centaur	26.5.0
	Two River Gods	35.14.0
	New Pedestalls &c	20.0.0
	A Carpet £14 – cleaning mending & binding £3	17.0.0
	Eighty three yards of green damask at [12s?]	49.16.0
	Two hundred d[itt]o	120.0.0
	Mr. Goodison the Cabinet-Maker's bill	400.0.0
	Mr. Kilpin the Upholster's bill	125.0.0
	Carriage of the Chimney-piece & furniture	25.0.0
	[Total]	1296.0.0
17th October	Repay'd Mr. Gach vizt… Charges on a Picture of Zoccarelli	4.19.0
1746		
31st January	Mr. Kilpin the Upholsterer a bill	30.7.0
21st February	Repay'd Mr. Kilpin for 36 ¾ yds of damask for 2 windows=curtains at Longford	27.11.0
2nd April	Wickes the Goldsmith a bill	4.17.6
8th April	Goodison – the Cabinet-Maker a bill	9.13.6
16th April	Mr. Mercer the Stone=Cutter a bill	1.9.6
24th April	[Deard?] for some Dresden = china figures	17.17.0
25th April	Hallett the Cabinet=maker	08.1.0
5th September	Kent the Painter a bill	11.2.0
6th November	Mr. Whitby the Cabinet=Maker a bill for a Wainscot=Table &c.	2.15.6
1747		
9th April	Bought at Burchets Sale vizt. David & Nathan by Rembrandt £5:10:0 A Conversation of [Boors?] by Ostade £5:12:6	11.2.6
20th April	Weeks ye. Goldsmith £3 – Griffith ye. Cabinet=maker £18:7:6	21.7.6
22nd April	Kilpin the Upholsterer	11.19.0

28th April	Collivoe a bill for cleaning Pictures	9.15.0
30th April	Hallet the Cabinet=maker a bill	10.8.0
15th September	Kent the Painter to 11th [?]	12.1.0
31st December	Griffith ye. Cabinet Maker a bill for guilding ye Drawing-Room	38.15.0
1748		
19th February	Bought at Sr. [J.F?] Frankland's sale a return from hunting by D. Teniers	84.0.0
16th April	Wickes the Goldsmith a bill	29.16.0
19th April	Kilpin the Upholster a bill	2.10.6
10th September	Kent- for Painting £1:10:0, & earlsman for carving do. 5s:6d	1.6.6
1749		
1st February	Pay'd for a Print of my Picture of Poussin's, being ye passage of ye Red Sea	1.1.0
4th March	Monsieur Neptune a Bruxelles – his draught for advance-money on the Tapestry, I have bespoke of him	61.2.0 10.0.0
7th March	Bought at Fords sale 2 ovall dishes 64:15 at 6s:3d – N.B. ye Receipt is [wrapt?] up in one of Wicks pay'd 27th March	20.4.8
27th March	Wickes the Goldsmith a bill	6.1.0
15th April	Pay'd Mr. Hudson for new painting ye. face of my Picture	10.10.0
16th September	Mr. Kent the Painter a bill	6.17.6
22nd September	Snow the Cabinet=Maker a bill	6.1.0
22nd December	Charges & freight for Tapestry 11:18:4 A second bill from abroad to close ye acct 75:13:8 NB. pay'd before a bill of £61:2:0 on act of the Tapestry, so the whole payed for it, is £148:14:0, & it is called at ye. Custom-House 56 ½ Flemish	87.12.0

	Ells Tapestry with silk	
1750		
23rd January	Mr. Philips by Mr. Kilpin for 101 yards of ½ ell blue damask at [?] yard NB. 89 was supposed to be the Quantity but there wanted 4 yds. more, so 93 was bespoke, & there is not 8 ds space NB. this & ye. former Quantity together cost £153:1:0 ye former Quantity comes to £89:18:6	63.2.6
3rd February	Bought at Prestage's sale [?] 4 India Pictures £10:10:0 A Dresden Groupe of Figures £14.-.2, Japan Cabinets £13:13:0	38.3.0
2nd March	A Japan-Cabinet at Ld. Lymington's sale	36.5.0
5th March	An India Chest at Ld. Lymington's sale	15.15.0
20th March	Mr. Scott in earnest for two Pictures bespoke of him at 25 Gs. each, but He talks of 5 Gs more each, on acct. of his being to lengthen his draughts NB to allow him what He says his loss of time will fairly entitule him to	21.0.0
26th March	Mr. Wickes the Silversmith a bill, wherein there is 2 new dishes, 12 d[itt]o Plates, 2 pair d[itt]o large candlesticks & nozzles, 2 pair d[itt]o middlesized candlesticks & nozzles 2 d[itt]o large Waiters, & altering the Arms and adding the Coronet to almost all the other Plate, & He had the two Scollop Waiters, & 2 pair of Chased Candlesticks in Exchange	232.3.6
27th March	Mr. Hudson for 79 Prints of Teniers at 4s each & 84 of Wouvermans &c at 5s each belonging to ye late Mr. Vanhacken	36.16.0
27th March	Duffour near Berwick-Street for 4 Picture-frames at £4:4:0 each, NB He is to make & send a fifth, which I shall owe him for, & He is to make two more next Winter	16.16.0

2nd August	Stichall for binding Prints pd. 5th Aprill in London by my son	1.10.0
29th August	Mr. Kent the Painter a bill	72.0.0
8th November	Repayed my son, wt. He payed for a Picture of Guido	47.5.0
17th December	Collivoe for cleaning ye. Picture my son bought for me	5.5.0
20th December	Mr. Bromwick for India Paper put up at Longford	30.13.6
21st December	Mr. Kilpin the Upholsterer a bill	263.0.0
1751		
4th May	Mr. Du Four the ballance of a bill of £31 – for frames for pictures & packing NB £16:16:0 pd. him 27th March last	14.4.0
4th May	Mr. Hudson a bill for Philly's Picture £21:0:0, Neddy & Harriot's £37:16:0, the three other Girls at £18:18:0 each, my eldest son's Picture, & mine & my Wife's (wch. I give my son) at £25:4:0 each, & gae his man 10s 6d)	91.12.6
7th May	Wickes the Silversmith do. [a bill]	2.12.0
2nd September	India Paper for fire-screens	0.9.6
7th October	Mr. Barford a bill for Wilton-carpeting	22.14.0
12th October	Mr. Barford another bill for small carpeting	1.8.0
22nd October	Kent the Painter a bill	1.4.6
1752		
3rd March	Collivoe a bill for cleaning three small Pictures viz. a Crucifixion by Rubens, the Salutation by Philippo Lauro, & Mary & Elizabeth by Ciro Ferri	2.12.6
2nd April	Wickes the Silversmith do.	2.3.0
3rd April	Du Four for 19 feet of frame in 3 picture-frames	2.7.6

8th April	First payment to Mr. Wood's subscription for prints of ruins	1.11.6
11th April	Bromwich for paper for Longford for rooms there	1.8.0
18th September	Kent the Painter for guilding the Vane	0.7.0
1753		
14th April	Wickes the Silversmith a bill (four sallade dishes)	48.15.0
18th August	Laggett a bill for cut water glasses for Longford	0.19.0
10th December	Godwin-Glazyer for the Chappell=Stair case new glass at 1s:8d pr foot, & allowed [1d?] pr foot for the old glass – the measure is 53:9	3.11.6
24th December	Mr. Trotter a round carpet for Longford	17.0.0
27th December	Mr. Vaughan for a Chair (£6:6:0 alld. for an old one dedctd)	25.4.0
27th December	Mr. Collivoe for cleaning Pictures	16.18.6
1754		
22nd January	Woods prints of Palmyra £3:3:0, binding 5s	3.8.0
26th February	Mr. Lacam for additionall diamonds to make out Bettseys roses	95.0.0
22nd March	Bought at Dr. Mead's sale – Erasmus's picture by Holbein £110:5:0 d[itt]o Egidius's d[itt]o by d[itt]o £95:11:0	205.16.0
23rd March	Wickes – silversmith	2.3.6
11th June	Mr. Kent for guilding & painting the Staircase windows	1.8.6
18th September	Mr. Barford Long Parlour & Gallery Carpets made up at 6s:6d p yard	18.12.6
30th September	Do. for little side Carpets in ye. Long Parlour	2.5.6
1755		
7th January	Conran for ye. dining room Carpet 39 ½ yds at	12.6.6

	6s: 3d made up d[itt]o for 3 yds. of double-border at 5s, to be used on occasion	0.15.0
9th January	Kynner for 2 fire-screens for Bettsey & myself	5.5.0
13th January	Mr. Bromwick – papering ye dressing room &c at Longford	40.10.6
26th March	Wickes – silversmith (2 Ice pails in this bill)	66.0.0
31st March	Batten – for Curtains to a dressing-room at Longford 10 too much, returned as on ye. other side	10.6.0
19th October	Whatmore 2 Bills about ye. Wainscot of the Long Parlour & Drawing Room &c & about ye. Hot-Houses &c	46.1.6
23rd October	Kent – Painting, guilding Lanthorn Vallance &c	15.8.6
24th October	Snow Cabinet-Maker Drawing Room Chairs Sofa &c	28.4.0
27th December	Mr. Bromwich – papering the Drawing room at Longford at 18s p square yard border included (NB 50 square yards) & for other Paper at 1s:6d pyd. & guilt border at 7d & for other work	80.9.6
1756		
24th February	Bought at Prestage's sale viz. Flight into Egypt by Rottenhamer with Landscape by Velvet Brughell £5:5:0 St. [Jro?] in a Lnadscape (called I think wrong by Claude Loraine £5:5:0, & a Magdalen finely painted by Guido £23:12:6	34.2.6
25th February	At Langford's a six-leaved Japan-screen	10.10.0
10th March	Scheemaker's Busto of a Vestal Virgin at Langford's D[itt]o of the Zingara bought at d[itt]o	11.0.6 17.6.6
8th September	Kent the Painter a bill (NB neither of the bridges included)	25.15.0
1757		

3rd March	Bought at Prestage's a pair of Candlesticks 95:15 at 1s:8d & d[itt]o 94:7 at 8s:1d, & a shaving box 19:10 at 6s	80.14.[?]
12th April	Mr. Smart for 2 Views of Venice by Gaspar Ochiale	18.18.0
15th April	Wickes – Silversmith an [epargne?] £100-, 2 dishes, 2 Candlesticks [?] 24 knives, &c	137.15.0
2nd May	Repay'd Griffith for [taking?] of 12 front pieces of Longford 4, & 20 whole sets at 3 each	3.4.0
2nd May	Mr. Vialls in Newport=Street for two Picture=frames	9.9.0
6th June	Kent – the Painter a bill	38.11.0
19th August	Mr. Privetts bill for ye Logio £52:14:0, do. ye Piers £50:3:0	
20th August	Gave Mr. Privetts men at finishing their Work	1.1.0
20th August	[?] of nine loads of stone at 16 [?] 7:4:0 [new men?] 1 do. 16s, Privet 1 do. 16, & my Teams brought 12 loads	8.16.0
20th August	Timber for ye Logio Roof £2:17:6 do. For Barn floor Planck £4:4:0	7.1.6
24th August	Honeywell – at Downton for 6 Windser Chairs	1.11.6
6th September	Langley for carving capitalls & c & carriage	10.15.6
1758		
2nd February	Mr. Athen – carving Capitals sent to Longford	12.0.0
3rd April	Mr. Bromwich for papering Bettsey's Dressing-room	13.3.6
26th April	Two Pictures of Albert Durer at Sr. Luke Schaub's sale	6.10.0
2nd June	Langley – for the stuccoe & ornaments to ye. Venetian seat	7.7.0
12th September	Langley a Glass-frame £10:14:0, two Terms £8:8:0	19.2.0

21st November	Kent – Painter part of a bill of £14:4:6 (the rest new work)	7.4.6
1759		
2nd January	Mr. [Alker?] for six stone Terms at £8:8:0 each	50.8.0
2nd January	Mr. Devall for the Portland stone for d[itt]o at £3:3:0 each	18.18.0
2nd January	Mr. Cheere for ye. statues of Flora & [Anna] Augusta at £8:8:0 each, oyling, painting, & packing cases	19.15.0
2nd January	Mr. Parisons for two vases from Bath packing cases &c	6.18.0
2nd January	Chambers the Painter a bill	4.0.0
7th March	Fleece – for japanning shelves &c in Bettsey's dressing-room	2.10.0
28th April	Wickes – Silversmith a bill	2.11.6
7th May	Brittingham – Cast of a statue £8- do. of 2 Bustos £4:4:0, & charges	14.0.0
4th August	Mr. Kent – the Painter's [?]	6.17.6
2nd November	Langley – Guilding 2 Picture-frames &c	1.2.6
1760		
23rd February	Repayed Griffith for the Study=carpet	6.2.0
19th March	Bought at Mr. Blackwood's sale a man mending a pen by Rembrand £12-, a Landscape by Polenburgh £13:13:0, a Gale by Vandevelde £17:17:0, a Monument to St. [Cloudes?] by [?] by Sebastian Ricci £8-.-., an head of Niobe & her Daughter £7:10:0	59.0.0
5th April	Colivoe – cleaning ye. Magdalen by Guido	2.2.0
26th April	Houghton for scouring a green damask bed & furniture	4.1.0
3rd May	Bromwich for paper sent to Longford 5th of May	7.1.0

	last, & 25th [Jn?] Paper for ye. Green damask=room at Longford to be payed for	
3rd May	D[itt]o – for papering a Garret, and papering my study	6.11.0
3rd May	Vile Cabinet maker a bill NB He charges £7:10:0 for two [Gerrondeles?] £1:15:0 for the four [Nozzells?], and I am to pay him these prices for all I am to have of him	17.5.0
25th November	Macy – new casing the upper flight of ye. best stair-case &c	35.3.0
1761		
3rd January	Mr. Hone for mine & Phily's pictures in water-colours	12.12.0
3rd January	Mr. Hudson – for a Copy of my Picture	25.4.0
17th January	Mr. Bellyard for Brilliants rubys & pearls to 2 bracelets pd. By Messrs Hoare 12th [?] 1760 as on ye. other side	63.0.0
26th January	Houghton – for scouring damask	5.0.0
William Bouverie, 1st Earl of Radnor		
1763		
25th February	By a Picture	5.17.6
26th February	By d[itt]o	7.17.6
27th February	By d[itt]o	7.17.6
14th March	By a Bill to Mr. Rysbrack Statuary	8.19.0
5th April	By paid Isaac Collivoe for cleaning a Picture	1.1.0
9th July	By pd. for six small Bustos	13.13.0
1764		

11th February	Mr. Wm. Pecket for the painter Glass on the Staircase at Longford	26.18.6
2nd March	By two Pictures	12.6.0
3rd March	By four more d[itt]o	87.13.6
21st June	Goldsmith's Bill	114.0.0
1765		
26th January	For a Picture by Spagniolet	53.11.0
12th March	By paid Mr. Hudson the Painter	42.0.0
21st March	Mr. Belliard Jeweller	34.15.6
20th April	Mr. Morland Painter for the King's Picture	10.10.0
21st May	Messrs. Vile & Cobb Cabinet Makers	52.9.6
4th June	For engraving Cyphers	0.9.6
4th June	Hemings Goldsmith	0.6.6
19th June	Mr. Deards for an enamel'd Gold Box	55.13.0
19th July	Mr. Coats ye. first payment for a Picture	21.0.0
7th August	For two Pictures bought at Critchel	55.0.0
18th September	Mr. Beach for the Children's Pictures	25.4.0
22nd October	Brett for ye. Picture of Henry Prince of Wales	27.6.0
19th December	[Osbolston?] Carpenter at St. Giles's for Picture Cases	1.0.4
1766		
25th February	By paid for a Worked Carpet	8.0.0
8th March	Bristow for drawings of Longford and Coleshill	7.13.6
8th March	Gave Mr. [Lamsden?] for bidding at an auction	0.10.6
4th April	Collivoe a Balance on the Exchange of Pictures for an Ecce Homo by Carlo Dolci	5.5.0
8th April	Godfrey Glass painter in advance	5.5.0
23rd April	By paid for a Drawing, altering the Frame & Glazing	1.8.0
9th May	Belliard Jeweller	1.1.0
14th May	Mr. [Regnier?] for a Print	0.10.6

15th May	Mr. Viall's picture Frame Maker	12.19.6
21st June	For Engraving Crests	2.9.0
4th July	Godfrey Glass Painter in full of his Bill	15.15.0
8th July	Mr. Miller Engraver on Account	21.0.0
9th July	Heming Goldsmith	0.12.6
11th July	Peckit of Yorke Glass painter	10.4.0
14th July	By Edward Wakelin & Co: Silver Smiths	45.0.0
1767		
4th February	Miller Engraver upon Account	20.0.0
10th February	Peckett Glass painter	6.16.6
11th March	Tobias Miller Engraver the Balance in full of his Bill Having pd. before £41, so the whole is 87:7:0	46.7.0
21st April	Rysbrack at his Sale for the Statue of Fame &c	59.0.0
24th April	Cotes 2d. payment for Lady Radnor's Picture	21.0.0
2nd May	Wetzel Engraver for Prints of Longford	8.12.0
26th June	Vanderhagen Statuary for a Bust of Alfred	7.0.0
2nd July	Cobb Cabinet Maker	28.0.0
13th July	Mr. Cotes first payment for Folkestone's Picture	10.10.0
14th July	Parker & Wakelin Goldsmiths	22.13.0
10th November	Mr. Bryant Senr. Painter for painting, & some Gilding in Gallery	30.11.0
1768		
6th January	D[itt]o for the Mouldings in the Gallery &c	33.1.0
10th January	Mr. Vandergucht for two Pictures	157.10.0
29th January	Cotes Painter 2d. Payment for Folkestone's Picture	10.10.0
1st February	Vandergutch Picture Dealer on the Exchange of some Pictures	11.11.0
13th May	By Vials the Cabinet Maker's Bill	11.10.6
23rd May	Mr. Moore for a Carpet for Longford	18.9.6
29th May	Cheere Stautary for a Statue & case sent to	30.0.0

	Longford	
8th June	Belliard Jeweller	23.2.0
9th June	Pd. my brother for a Picture & [?]	2.0.0
9th June	Wakelin & Parker Silversmith	20.11.4
6th August	Vandergutch for two Pictures	100.0.0
1769		
16th February	Mr. Smart for some China Plates	4.4.0
13th March	Mr. Vandergutch for a Picture	5.15.6
25th March	Mr. Thomas Scheemaker for a Basso Relievo for Longd.	42.5.0
18th April	By Mr. Smart for a Picture	15.15.0
19th April	By Vandergutch for a d[itt]o	18.18.0
24th May	Samuel Toulmin a Gold Watch for Folkestone	26.5.0
25th May	Parker & co. Goldsmiths	46.16.0
3rd August	Hunt for Brick for the Foundation of the Statue	10.0.0
3rd August	Hunt for Bricks & Lime for the Chapel	21.0.0
12th August	Parsons a Bill for Stone Vases	19.12.0
1770		
20th January	[Jarman?] Bricklayer }new Chapel	56.16.0
20th January	Macey for Green Stone}new Chapel	24.5.0
20th January	[Puge?] for White Bricks}new Chapel	26.5.0
20th January	[Shallow?] for Bricks}new Chapel	18.12.0
20th January	Reading for Lime}new Chapel	13.6.6
20th January	[Rose?] for Bricks}new Chapel	29.18.0
20th January	[Hunt?] for d[itt]o}new Chapel	11.8.0
30th January	A Set of Crimson Lutestring Window Curtains	7.10.0
30th January	A Pair of Mother of Pearl Pagodas	27.6.0
30th January	A D[itt]o of Dresden China Vases	24.3.0
5th February	Wedgwood & Co. for Stafford Vases	5.5.0
14th February	By a Picture	18.18.0
20th February	By Rysbrack the Statuary's Bill	43.0.0

28th February	By Peter Scheemakers for a Monument for Sir M:P:	117.0.0
23rd March	A Cast of Alfred	1.1.0
2nd June	By Godfrey Kneller Esqr. for a Picture	70.0.0
7th June	By paid Miller the Engraver	1.11.6
7th June	Wedgwood for Stafford Vase	9.18.6
7th June	Parker & Co: Silversmiths	0.10.6
7th June	Toulmin Watchmaker	3.13.6
15th June	Williams & Harling for China Plates	3.19.6
1771		3.1.0
15th January	Woodyear Silversmith	1.0.6
17th January	Croome Mason for Chilmark Stone The remainder of his Bill } Chapel	60.5.0
17th January	Massey for Green Stone & Carriage } Chapel	176.17.6
29th January	Paid Miller the Engraver	1.1.0
22nd March	Hallet Upholsterer	4.16.6
13th April	Wilton Statuary for a Marble Bust of Alfred etc	51.18.0
16th April	Carmichael for Cut Glass	1.4.0
18th April	Paid Belliard Jewller for two Rings	2.10.0
2nd May	By paid for four Pictures by Old Bassan	34.13.0
23rd May	Rose China Man for Plates	16.6.0
1st June	Toulmin Watchmaker's Bill	3.18.6
6th June	Thomson China Man	2.11.0
6th June	More Carpet Maker	37.17.0
7th June	Parker & Co: Silversmiths	14.4.0
9th August	[?] Bryan Painter for painting the Tapestry Ceiling, new dressing and cleaning several Pictures &c	90.0.0
1772		
5th January	By paid Gainsborough Painter for my Picture	63.0.0
22nd February	A Picture bought at Christie's	5.15.6

16th March	By Purchase of three Pictures at Mr. North's Sale	9.6.0
25th March	By Pictures bought at Langford's Sale	6.15.0
11th May	Roper for 2 print Frames	1.4.0
14th May	Haynes for a Picture	2.2.0
18th May	Picture bought at Devis and for altering another	3.3.6
23rd May	Toulmin Watchmaker	7.7.0
13th June	Parker & Wakelin Goldsmiths	19.11.6
13th June	By the Purchase of Pictures	21.14.0
16th June	Vandergutch Picture-cleaner	1.11.6
17th June	Wedgwood & Co. for Staff. Ware	6.12.6
17th June	Vials Frame Maker	58.11.0
18th June	Vandergutch	3.3.0
18th June	Lloyd Picture dealer for two Pictures	8.8.0
1773		
30th January	Vandergutch Picture dealer	7.14.0
1st February	De Bruijn Picture Cleaner	2.2.0
1st February	By a Picture of King William	7.7.0
11th February	By a Picture bought at Langford's	21.0.0
17th February	Giles China Man desert Plates for Longford	21.0.0
20th February	A Picture bought at Mr. Leigh's Sale	26.5.0
3rd March	Secard Picture Dealer for a Picture	31.10.0
20th March	Mr. Vandergutch for a Picture	7.7.0
3rd April	By paid for a Picture by Vandike	55.13.0
30th April	By paid Rd: Morrison Goldsmith	155.0.0
24th May	By Mr. Moore's Bill for a Carpet	21.16.0
27th May	Boydell engraver	77.0.0
15th June	Vandergutch Junr. for copying my sons Picture	5.5.0
16th June	Parker & Co: Silversmiths	3.3.6
17th December	By Mr. Kneller for the Picture of Reubens's Son	100.0.0
1774		
21st February	Loyd Picture cleaner	4.14.6

3rd March	Secard for a Picture by Polembourg	21.0.0
4th March	Belliard for a Cameo Ring	4.4.0
30th March	Mr. Parsons for two Pictures	16.16.0
30th April	By paid for a Watch Chain for my Son Wm:	5.10.0
30th April	By a Ring for my Son Barty	4.4.0
11th May	Devis Picture Cleaner	5.5.0
3rd June	Marlow for a View of Folkestone Town	37.16.0
4th June	Boydell print Seller	6.17.0
8th June	Jefferys Toyman for Barty's Watch Chain	5.10.0
17th June	Parker & Wakelin Goldsmiths	181.12.6
17th June	Mr. Dance for a Picture of my son Folkestone	42.0.0
17th June	Wedgewood & Co. Staffordshire Ware	1.9.6
20th June	Vandergutch on the Exchange of a Picture	6.6.0
8th July	Mr Benjn. Collins for some old Coins	11.0.0
28th September	By paid Gainsborough Painter	252.0.0
1775		
21st January	Woodgear watchmaker	2.0.0
11th February	Richardson for Designs of Ceilings	2.8.0
13th February	Angelica Kauffmann & Crone for a Picture	42.0.0
28th February	By paid the Balance of [?] Barrel's Bill for the Capitals for the Chapel Columns	85.11.0
30th March	Wells Frame Maker for Glasses & Pictures	16.16.0
4th April	By paid Williamson Silversmith	9.9.0
8th April	By Belliard Jeweller	12.12.0
10th April	By Beyer Cabinet maker	7.17.6
27th April	By paid Picket Jewller	3.12.0
27th April	By Belliard due for the Cameo Ring	3.3.0
1st May	Scheemaker Statuary	9.2.0
20th May	Bride Engraver	2.12.0
27th May	Vials [Carver?]	13.2.6
6th June	Scheemaker Statuary	2.19.6
8th June	[Tapie?] Jeweller	1.10.0

9th June	Smart Picture Dealer	15.6.6
10th June	By Hone for a Picture of my Nephew Talbot	26.5.0
12th June	Devis Picture Cleaner	5.5.0
12th June	Chere Statuary for Figures sent to Longford	50.0.0
12th June	Toulmin Watchmaker	1.13.0
13th June	Vials Frame Maker	2.3.6
13th July	Vivares Junior Engraver	5.9.0
10th September	By Mr Devis Picture cleaner	22.1.0
28th October	By paid Mr. Hobcraft for the Chapel Columns	152.3.0
30th November	Christie Auctioneer for a Lot at Holland House	7.7.0
Jacob Pleydell-Bouverie, 2nd Earl of Radnor		
1776		
24th February	A Picture by C. Jansen at Langford's	6.10.0
12th March	Collins & Co. Pictures	6.10.5
21st March	Boydell Engraver	11.14.0
11th May	Parsons picture Cleaner & for a Picture by Hontorst	12.12.0
24th May	Vandergutch Picture Dealer on account for Things bought at Aldermaston	40.0.0
29th May	[?] Engraver	0.8.0
29th May	Cobb, Cabinet Maker	2.11.0
31st May	Vials, Carver, & Gilder	9.9.0
31st May	Marlow, Painter for a Drawing of Folkestone	4.4.0
31st May	Parker, & Co. Silversmiths (Two Bills)	44.1.6
30th October	Parsons Picture Dealer	6.6.0
10th November	Balance of Mr. Vander Guchts Bill (May 24)	15.19.6
10th November	Willerton Jeweller	53.10.6
1777		

18th January	Wyat Architect (no Receipt)	15.15.0
25th February	Parsons Picture-Dealer	37.16.0
7th March	Christie for Pictures	34.13.6
4th April	Woodgear Watchmaker	1.4.0
5th April	Hodson, & Johnson Pictures	0.15.0
5th April	Bailey for Bricks & Lime	9.1.6
17th April	Wedgewood, & Co for Staffordshire Vase	17.12.0
6th May	[Subscription] to [?] Drawings of Curiosities at the [Museum?]	2.2.0
6th May	Squibb for Pictures	19.8.0
6th May	Jeffrey's, & Co. Silversmith, & Jewellers	7.11.0
28th May	Devis Picture-Cleaner	13.17.0
2nd June	Willerton Jeweller	7.7.0
5th June	Wakelin Silversmith	9.19.0
29th August	Expences of a Journey to Longleat, Sherbourne, Mount Edgecombe & [Weymouth?]	34.19.0
3rd October	A Picture of Sir Walter Rawleigh, & Carriage from Salisbury	0.16.0
7th November	[?] Carpenter at Coleshill	43.17.6
7th November	Hearth for Bricks, & Lime	47.18.0
7th November	[Barnet?] Stone Mason	12.16.0
23rd December	[?] Plaisterer for Work in the Passage to the Chapel Etc Etc	5.14.6
1778		
20th February	Mr. Richards Architect Two Volumes of his Emblematical Figures	2.2.0
20th February	[Morrison?] Silver Smith	67.13.0
20th February	Pictures at Mr. Blackwood's Sale	11.11.0
3rd April	2 Pictures at Mr. Jennings's Sale	25.14.6
7th May	Picture at Greenwood's Sale (Countess of Cumberland)	3.3.0
19th May	Mrs. Angelica Kauffman for a Picture (her	16.0.0

	servant 5)	
4th June	Mr. Gainsborough for a Picture of Lady Radnor (his Man 5)	63.5.0
6th June	Boydell Printseller 3 last Numbers of Liber Veritatis	3.3.0
10th June	Wedgwood, & [?] for Staffordshire Ware	10.17.6
10th June	Vander Gutch Picture Dealer	39.18.0
10th June	Smart Miniature Painter (his Servant 5)	39.17.0
11th June	Yeoman Surveyor	41.14.0
27th June	Vials Frame Maker	9.16.0
27th June	Brigges for removing Goods from Portman Square to Grosvenor Street	1.5.0
1st July	Expences of a Tour from London by Harwick, Ipswich, Haveringham, Horseheath, Royston, King's Cliffe, Dunstable, Tring, Aylesbury, Oxford, & [?] to Coleshill	61.18.0
14th July	[Barret?] Mason	26.10.1
15th July	[Fen?] Glazier, & Plaster	23.19.0
18th July	Expenses from Coleshill by Newbury, & Winchester to Longford	6.19.8
1st August	Subscription to a Medallion History by Mr. Cooke of [Endford?]	1.11.6
23rd September	Mitchell for Carving	4.3.0
26th October	Expences from Milton House thro Bath to Coleshill	9.19.6
5th November	[Lidal?] Tyler, & Plaisterer 11s:9d, & 2:4:2, & 10:12:11	13.8.9
5th November	Collet Carpenter 60:2:5 & 27:19:1	96.1.6
5th November	Barnet Mason	52.10.8
7th December	Subscription to Mr. Hasteads History of Kent	1.11.6
16th December	Scheemaker Statuary of Balance of his Bill (vide July 28. 1777)	18.4.0
16th December	Ditto for Monument erected to the revd. Mr	23.12.6

	Langhorne of Folkestone	
16th December	To [Henshaw?] for a Miniature painting of the Rubens's Son at Longford, given to my Brother B. Bouverie	6.6.0
1779		
1st February	Smith Upholsterer on account of Coleshill Bill	80.0.0
1st February	[Green?] Cabinet-Maker	9.14.0
6th March	2d Subscription to a Book called "Museum Britannicum"	1.11.6
6th March	A Print of Pictures given to my Brother	1.1.0
1st May	Cobb Cabinet Maker	13.18.0
6th May	De Bruijn Picture Cleaner	8.8.0
6th May	Fee at Admission at the Antiquarian Society	5.5.0
6th May	[Composition?] for annual Subscription to ditto	22.1.0
10th May	Pictures at Sir Simon Stuarts Sale	131.0.0
10th May	Moody for Carriage of goods from Grosvenor Street to Grafton Street	9.5.6
14th May	Devall Statuary balance of Account for Family Monument at Britford Church ([vide?] Janry. 16. 1777)	141.10.0
29th May	Richardson a Book of Emblems	2.2.0
7th June	Biggs for moving Furniture	2.10.0
8th June	Mr. [Lode?] for my House in Portman Square for 3 Quarters due at Midsummer last with Allowance for Varieties	282.0.0
12th June	Mr. Godfrey for two Volumes, & part of a third of the Antiquarian [Repertory?]	2.6.0
26th June	Makepeace Silversmith for gilt Chalice, & Patten for Hambledon Church	7.10.0
27th July	Bryant for a Picture of Bishop	1.1.0
7th October	Gainsborough for a Picture	42.0.0
4th December	[?] Printseller	2.13.0

1780		
31st January	Bryant Painter	5.16.6
2nd February	Smith Upholsterer Balance of Coleshill Bill (vide Feb. 1. 1779)	25.7.6
2nd February	Ditto for Longford Castle	4.10.0
2nd February	[Whitty?] for an Axminster Carpet for the Tapestry Room	50.0.0
10th February	Philips Engraver for a small Head of Dr. Stephen Hales done by him on Copper from a Drawing by Mrs. Middleton	4.4.0
2nd April	[Neale?] Stucco-Worker	0.10.4
2nd April	Barnet Stone Mason	82.6.6
29th April	Picture of Rubens (by Vandyke) on Horseback	95.11.0
3rd May	Subscription in Advance for 3 Prints from Copley's Picture	4.14.6
5th June	[Garriman?] Watchmaker for Work in Brass	5.5.0
26th June	Devall Statuary for Chimney-Peice for the Long Parlour Longford Castle Etc	66.13.6
26th June	[?] for the Copy of Mr. [Barret's?] Picture	6.6.0
28th July	Wedgewood for Staffordshire Ware	41.11.6
28th July	De Brujin Picture-Cleaner	2.7.0
22nd August	Talmin Watchmaker	14.17.6
6th September	[Havoch?] Silver Smith for a golden Peice of Saxon Workmanship	5.5.0
12th November	Liddal Plaisterer, & Tyler	22.7.0
12th November	Collet Carpenter	79.11.0
12th November	Barret Stone-Mason	80.13.6
12th November	[?] Stone Mason Advance	70.15.0
1781		
5th February	[Green?] Cabinet Maker	0.13.6
5th February	[Massey?] Stone Mason	2.2.0

10th February	Bryant Jnr. Painter	5.11.6
5th March	Trotter for [?] Furniture Etc	95.14.0
17th March	Parson's Picture-Dealer	5.5.0
22nd May	Expenses of seeing Strawberry Hill, & Hampton Court, & dining there	1.17.0
26th May	Drummond Cabinet Maker	0.18.0
30th May	Cosway for a stained Drawing of Lady Radnor	26.5.0
13th August	Wakelin Silversmith	18.4.6
15th August	[Edmonson?] [Picture-?]Painter	7.9.6
15th August	Rhodes for Paper Hangings	10.0.6
5th December	Mr. Pearson Glass Stainer for my Window in Salisbury Cathedral as per Contract	590.10.0
5th December	Ditto extraordinary Expenses	30.0.0
1782		
22nd January	A Collection of the Popes Heads bought at Odstock Sale	0.10.6
6th February	Bryant Snr. Painter	0.16.6
6th February	Woodyear for Care of the Clock	0.15.0
6th February	Keynes Plaisterer	4.11.0
6th February	Green Cabinet-Maker	2.8.0
23rd February	[?] Stone Mason upon Account Advance	73.0.0
23rd February	Collet Carpenter	76.12.1
27th February	[Barret?] Stone-Mason	10.14.0
27th February	Liddal, Tyler, & Plaisterer	8.1.6
27th February	Jones Carver, Statuary, Etc	18.4.0
22nd April	Mr. More for a Book of Medalic Engravings	6.6.0
[?] May	De Bruijn Picture-Cleaner	13.17.0
13th May	[?] of Vials Carver, & Gilder	20.0.0
27th June	Subscription to [Cooke's?] Medallic Society (vide Aug. 1. 1778)	1.11.6
18th September	Seeing Wilton House	0.12.6
16th October	Seeing Wilton House	0.12.6

19th November	[?] Stone Mason Balance of his Bill (vide several Payments upon account from 1777 to the present Time)	16.19.6
19th November	Barret Stone Mason	140.7.6
19th December	Willerton Jeweller	36.15.0
1784		
14th July	Morrison Silver-smith	24.19.6
1785		
19th February	Scheemaker Statuary	3.16.0
13th June	Boydell Printseller	27.2.0
11th July	[Taunton?] Chair-maker for Chairs	2.14.0
4th August	[Bugg?] Silversmith	29.17.0
4th August	Willerton Goldsmith	8.18.6
4th August	Wakelin Silversmith	76.11.0
24th October	Cosway for two pictures of my 3 eldest Children	115.10.0
1786		
11th February	Mr. White 24 Proof Impressions of the Print from Cosway's Picture of the Children	14.08.0
11th February	[Bovi?], Engraver of Lady Radnor's Drawing by Cosway	52.10.0
11th February	Ditto for a Picture Frame	0.8.0
13th March	Ditto [Smyth Apothecary] framing a Print	0.7.6
29th June	Beaumont for Picture Frames	10.12.0
8th July	Cosway for my Miniature Picture	23.2.0
8th July	Bovie for Impressions of [Nanny's?] Plate	7.8.0
11th July	Wakelin Silver-smith	4.4.6
11th July	[Ragg?], & [Theyne?] Silversmiths	12.14.0
11th July	Gray for Setting of my Picture by Cosway	5.15.6
1787		

15th May	Portrait of Lady Radnor by Sir Joshua Reynolds	105.0.0
10th June	Wedgewood for Staffordshire Ware	1.2.0
23rd June	Boydell for Prints	10.10.0
1788		
10th March	Wakelin, Silversmith for Change of Plate	0.5.6
10th March	Beaumont for Picture Frames	8.1.6
10th March	[Nattes?] for Drawings framed Etc of Longford	11.11.0
4th June	[?] for 3 Numbers of [solent?] Views (& some Proofs)	1.7.0
15th June	[Longmote?] Engraver	4.13.0
15th June	Grey Jeweller	1.6.0
1st December	Barlow Engraver of Park House Folkestone	15.15.0
1789		
30th January	Simpson Picture Cleaner	13.10.0
17th February	Egginton Glass-Stainer	12.12.0
17th February	Evans for a Print of Westminster Hall	0.15.0
17th February	Cosway for Picture of Laurence	50.0.0
13th May	Simpson Picture-cleaner	3.3.0
13th May	Beaumont Picture Frame Maker	8.6.0
1st June	Boydell (Houghton Collection completed)	2.2.0
24th July	Grey Jeweller for [?] Buttons	4.4.0
24th July	Vandergutch Picture-Cleaner	5.5.0
1790		
16th April	Simpson for a Picture Frame	1.9.6
25th June	Vandergucht Picture Dealer Balance of Account	741.15.0
28th June	Wedgewood for Staffordshire Ware	22.10.0
20th July	Wakelin Silver Smith	6.5.6
1791		
15th February	[?] for a Picture Frame	0.12.0

27th February	Clarke for a Picture	4.14.6
11th May	Bannister for a Picture of the Escurial	2.12.6
2nd July	Wedgewood for Staffordshire Ware (2 [Setts?])	40.12.6
4th July	Wakelin Silversmith on an Exchange of Plate	1.2.0
5th July	Boulton Silversmith	5.5.0
6th July	Simpson Picture Cleaner, & for a Picture [?]:15 – Ditto a Picture (being the Legacy left me by dear Friend Ed. Norton (vide 30 [May?] 1786) 52:10	123.5.0
1792		
13th February	Vandergucht Picture-dealer	280.5.0
6th March	2nd Subscription to three Prints of Ld. [Chaltham?] (vide May 3rd 1780)	4.14.6
1st May	Subscription to No 7 of [Scharf?] Views	0.5.0
11th May	Mr. Vandergucht for Picture Frames	30.18.0
19th June	Simpson for Picture Frames [?]	9.5.0
4th July	Mr. Laurence first Payment for a Portrait	31.10.0
7th July	Stephens Picture Frame Maker	2.8.0
7th July	Wakelin Silversmith 48:2:0 ditto 3s:6d	42.5.6
28th November	7 Miniatures Pictures	10.10.0
1793		
13th February	Thomas, Goldsmith for a sound Knott	1.10.0
11th May	Stephens Print-Frame Maker Etc	9.12.0
11th October	Picture of Oliver Cromwell late Mr. Fulhams	7.7.0
1794		
7th March	Mr. Laurence second Payment for a Portrait (vide July 4 1792)	31.10.0
12th June	[11?] Copies of Mrs. Ed. Bouverie's Print	1.16.0
12th June	Willerton Jeweller	1.1.0
1795		

31st January	Picture of Sir Roger Curtis (exclusive of Frame)	14.14.0
20th February	Vandergucht's Executors Balance of Account for Pictures	420.6.10
2nd March	Hopgood Picture Frame maker	8.8.0
2nd March	A Picture by Wouverman at Baron [Faget's?] Sale	26.5.0
6th May	Mr. Miller, Writer at Mr. Vandergucht's Exhibition	1.1.0
26th May	Ivory Medallion of Inigo Jones	1.1.0
26th May	Simpson Picture Cleaner, & for Frames	21.10.0
29th June	Enwood Billiard Furniture	5.18.6
29th June	Wakelin Silver-smith	24.18.0
1796		
12th March	Picture by Corregio at the late Mr. Vander Gucht's sale	630.0.0
4th May	Rising for copying the Picture of Mr. Pym	7.7.0
19th June	First Payment of Lady Radnor's Picture to Mr. Hoppner	26.5.0
15th July	Parsons Picture Dealer	8.8.0
1st December	Hopgard for Picture Frame	18.4.6
1797		
19th May	Chamberlain for Nos. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10 of Holbein's Heads	21.0.0
1798		
31st May	For a Picture by [?] [?]	1.1.0
7th December	2 coloured views of Salisbury (viz Cathedral, & Council House)	1.4.0
1799		
18th February	Wedgewood for Staffordshire Ware	13.4.0
4th March	2d. Payment of Lady Radnor's Picture Mr.	26.1.0

	Hoppner ([?] [?] 1796)	
17th April	Mr. Condè Engraver for altering the Plate of Lady Radnor by Cosway	6.6.0
1st May	A Sardonyx Necklace, & Earrings for Lady Radnor	13.2.6
14th May	Mr. Cosway for Pictures of my Children Barbara, Frederick, & Philip	178.10.0
20th May	[?] for a Pearl Lap-Dog (a Bijoux)	26.5.0
7th June	[Ryper's?] Engravings after Raphael	3.3.0
2nd August	Cabinet formerly given by Queen Elizabeth to the Riche Family	52.10.0
1800		
17th January	Heath Print of General Washington	2.2.0
1st November	Hancock for a Picture	1.11.6
1801		
12th February	2 small Pictures by Eckhart at Mr. [Parting's] Sale	9.15.0
21st February	Mrs. Frederick for a marble Chimney Peice	28.0.0
10th June	Smart for a Portrait	6.6.0
6th July	Sir William Beechey, for the Portrait of Lady Folkestone	73.10.0
1802		
26th February	[Lady R.] for Furniture for her Room	30.0.0
26th February	Fellows for a glazed, & Framed Print of the Council House	2.12.6
4th May	[Ruiper?] for Copies from Raphael (3d. Set)	1.10.6
8th May	2 Pictures at Sir W. Young's, & W. Nesbits Auctions	33.14.6
1803		
25th March	A Picture by Andrea del Sarto at W. Walsh	199.10.0

	[Portal's?] Sale	
10th May	Present to Lady Radnor of a Cameo	8.8.0
10th May	Paid for some Jewellery, & a Picture	344.19.6
1804		
21st May	[Denman?] on Account of Pictures	721.9.9
6th October	[Expences] for a Portrait of Cardinall Pole (called Bp. Latimer)	1.1.0
1805		
5th April	Squibb for a Marble Chimney Peice	15.15.0
12th May	Print of Nicolas Poussin's golden Calf	0.10.6
4th July	Old Picture from a Broker's (thro W. Simpson)	20.0.0
12th July	[Denman?] Balance of Account for Pictures	484.8.9
16th July	Two Pictures to Mr. Pusey	10.10.0
1806		
6th July	Smalbone for a Portrait of Mr. [Salden?]	1.1.0
19th October	Portrait of the Duke of Alva	31.10.0
1808		
18th February	Buchanan Picture-Dealer on Account (see June 1809)	100.0.0
1st April	Mr. Hoppner for my Portrait for Univ. Coll	84.0.0
20th May	By Picture bought of Christies of the first Lady Winchelsea by C. Janson	25.0.0
20th May	By Picture bought of Solomans by [-]	21.0.0
19th June	Picture by Mabuse bought at Squibb's Auction Room	36.15.0
1809		
1st June	Bentley for Ivory Chairs	105.0.0
24th June	Buchanan (& his Apignee Haldon) see Feb. 18	1000.0.0

	1808	
1811		
1st May	Picture by Velasquez Etc	151.14.5
1812		
24th January	Mr. Cosway for two Portraits of myself	150.0.0
25th March	Picture by Rembrandt bought at Mr. Champion's Sale	26.5.0
1st December	Picture by Giorgione	150.4.0
1813		
24th March	Mr. Saunders in advance for Lady Radnor's Picture	105.0.0
4th May	Holland Silversmith	187.2.6
4th May	Smith Jeweller	137.8.0
2nd June	Seeing Mr. Angerstein's Pictures	0.10.6
22nd June	Picture of Mr. Thomas Wyndham 1562 2. By H. Holbein since recognised as Sir Antony Denny	157.10.0
23rd November	Miss Gaddes for a Portrait of Dr. [Maton?]	7.7.0
1st December	Print of St. [Sebastians?]	0.10.6
1814		
21st April	A golden Chain given to Lady R	23.8.0
2nd May	[View?] of Fonthill Abby	0.16.0
25th May	4 fifths of a Necklace of Chrysophras Stones given to Lady Folkestone the other fifth being Lady R's	90.8.0
1815		
17th October	Picture by Titian	210.0.0
1816		

17th May	Subscription towards a Picture of Mr. Prince for the Magdalen	2.2.0
1818		
7th July	Cooking, Painter for Views of Longford	10.10.0
1820		
12th May	Picture by Mabuse (Children of H. 7)	84.0.0
1821		
13th May	Mr. Saunders (thro L: F.) for a Picture of Lady Folkestone 1st. Payment	105.0.0
2nd August	Mr. Pastorini for Portrais of P.P.B's Children	16.16.0
1822		
17th July	Memorial of King G. 3d at Longford Castle, Distribution Etc	123.12.8
1823		
5th June	To L. Folkestone 2d Payment for Lady F's Picture by Saunders	105.0.0
1825		
[?]	Frames for Prints	3.5.6
[?]	Print of E. [?]	1.1.0
[6th?] April	Mortlock for Colebroke Dale Porcelain	9.6.6